

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE first years' campaign in Eastern Palestine is completed—Lieutenant Conder has returned to Jerusalem, bringing with him the survey of 500 miles, with plans, drawings, and photographs. This may be considered an excellent beginning. During the winter Mr. Armstrong will lay down the 500 square miles of survey on a sheet while Lieutenants Conder and Mantell draw the hill shading and the special plans and prepare the Reports for the future Memoirs. There has been difficulty about the validity of the old Firman with the Turkish authorities, but it is hoped that this will be speedily removed. The Reports which are published in this number prove sufficiently how rich a harvest remains to be reaped in this part of the country, even though our party followed in the steps of Canon Tristram and others who have recently visited Moab. The expedition has unfortunately lost the services of Mr. Black, who has been invalided home.

Lieutenant Conder, after twice passing four hours in the passage between the Virgin's Fount and the Pool of Siloam, succeeded in discovering the place where the workmen met. He found no other inscriptions. M. Clermont Ganneau has in preparation a treatise on the inscription, on which Dr. Ginsburg has also been working. Certain questions have been raised in the last number of the Transactions of the German Palestine Exploration Society, as to the correctness of Professor Sayce's statement of the expense borne by this Society in the preliminary lowering of the water and other things. It seems, therefore, desirable to state exactly what was the action of the Committee in the matter. It was on August the 3rd, 1880, that the Committee first heard of the inscription. They immediately resolved that the sum of 25*l.*, which was estimated to be sufficient for the purpose, should be voted for such expenses as might be incurred; and Dr. Chaplin, the Honorary Secretary for Jerusalem, was autho-

rised to draw upon the Treasurer for that amount if necessary. The sum actually drawn by Dr. Chaplin and given to Herr Schick for the purpose was five pounds.

The portion of the work already completed includes special surveys of Heshbon, Elealah, Madeba, Baal-Meon, Nebo, Pishgah, the hot springs of Calirrhoe, and Rabboth Ammon. Over 600 names have been found and 200 ruins examined: some 400 cromlechs have been discovered and sketched, with many menhirs and stone circles: search was made, but without result, for remains of the Cities of the Plain: 36 photographs have been taken: a building has been found at Ammon, which Lieutenant Conder thinks is of Sassanian origin: a number of Arab traditions have been collected: and identifications have been proposed for the *Field of Zophim*, the *Ascent of Luhith*, *Jazer*, *Sibmah*, and *Minmeth*.

A second rock-hewn channel in connection with the Virgin's Fount has been discovered by Herr Schick, who has made a plan of it, but no copy has yet been received in England; it is reported to have carried water direct to the lower Pool of Siloam. A new Crusading Church has also been discovered near Jeremiah's Grotto; Lieutenant Conder has made a plan of it.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we publish three "Notes" from the pen of M. Clermont Ganneau, containing an account of the recent archaeological work. He hopes to be able to continue these notes from time to time. The first is called Note II, because there was an earlier note, which seems to have miscarried. The discovery of the capital with the inscription in Greek and Phœnician characters opens many new and interesting questions in the archaeological history of the country. M. Ganneau has now quite recovered from his late severe illness.

During the repairs in the Haram Area another gate has been discovered in the eastern wall. It does not appear, however, to be of great antiquity, and is reported to be built in the later masonry. It has been measured and sketched by Sir Charles Wilson, and by Lieutenant Conder.

Colonel Sir Charles Wilson, writing of his recent visit to Palestine, makes the following observations, which will be read with great interest:—

"In fifteen years there have necessarily been many changes, and some of the points which struck me most may interest you.

"The population of the Lebanon and the area under cultivation have greatly increased, and it was quite a novelty to see all the people going about unarmed. Beirut has grown almost out of my remembrance, and the number of large good houses built during the last few years is quite remarkable. Damascus has hardly changed at all.

"The Haiffa Temple Colony was quite a new feature, but the members of it are, in one sense, doing great harm, for they are rapidly disforesting Carmel. Our man uses the wood as fuel for his factory or mill, I forget which, and a great quantity goes in this way. Charcoal burners also are hard at work. The clearance of trees in some parts was most painfully visible.

"It is hard to trust the memory after fifteen years, but it certainly seemed to me that in the country between Jerin and Jerusalem there had been much planting of olive and fig trees since my day. I used to be struck with the bare aspect of the hills; I was now struck by the amount of cultivation; perhaps, however, this may have been due to my late sojourn on the treeless plateau of Anatolia. The smallness of the country, and its natural features, were more than ever striking, after living in a country where all the features are on a large scale, and a journey of nine or ten days is an ordinary incident of Anatolian life.

"At Samaria I found all my excavations filled in, and those made by Anderson on Mount Gerizim were partially filled. It was most extraordinary to notice the fresh appearance of the rubbish thrown out round Justinian's Church on Gerizim, and almost impossible to believe fifteen years had elapsed; the heaps of rubbish looked but a month old.

"I went from Jaffa to Jerusalem by the carriage road, which I had not seen. The people complain of its roughness, but it is the best road I have seen in Turkey, save the French Beirut-Damascus road, and is the only mountain road I know of made by the Turks except that from Trebizonde to Erzurum.

"The approach to Jerusalem was to me a painful one. When I left in 1866, the only buildings outside the town were the Russian convent, and two or three small houses; now new Jerusalem is almost as large as the old one. I had always liked to think of Jerusalem as the walled city, with its gates closed at nightfall, surrounded by olive gardens, which I had learned to know so well during the survey, and it was anything but pleasant to ride over a hard metalled road, through a long suburb, such as one sees round a third class Italian town. However, it seemed to remind one of the villas and gardens which spread outside the second wall at the time of the Crucifixion.

"Within the city there has been little change, except the erection or completion of some of the large religious establishments, and after the first half-hour I felt myself quite at home in the winding street and blind alleys. One great change is, however, in progress; all the rubbish is now being shot into the Pool of Bethesda, which is to be filled up and planted as a public garden; a large portion at the east end had already been levelled up.

"I paid a hurried visit to the site of the German excavations, and was astonished at the work they had managed to do for the small sum of £300, I think. I believe they have found much of interest, but as many of the pits were half filled in, I could not examine all the places, nor would any descrip-

tion be easily followed without reference to plans. The excavations seemed to me not to have been exhaustive in any one place, rather a series of small excavations, in hope of making a lucky find. One of the most interesting points is the discovery of a second rock-hewn channel, in connection with the Fountain of the Virgin, of which Mr. Schick showed me a plan, and of which I believe he was the discoverer; it apparently carried water direct to the lower pool of Siloam, and is perhaps older than the other, which starts off from a corner shown in Warren's plan of the conduit. It may throw some light on the cubit question in the inscription. I also saw the supposed city wall uncovered, near Siloam; it is in the position one might expect to find such a wall, but the masonry did not appear to me such as is usually found in city walls; it was more like a retaining wall. The publication of the results obtained by the Germans will be looked for with great interest.

"I was glad to find Mr. Schick had still in his possession the original plan of Jerusalem, which I gave him in 1866 to keep as a record of rock lurls. He has entered on this the exact points at which rock has been found since Colonel Warren left Jerusalem; and I have arranged with him to make a facsimile copy, which I hope may some day be published.

"There are many other minor points, but my letter is already too long; I must mention, however, that I examined and made a plan of the door in the East Haram wall, found by M. Ganneau; it is comparatively modern, but of interest from its position. You have no doubt received full information about this already."

The support given to the new enterprise during the last twelve months may be considered fairly encouraging. The amount received in all from subscriptions and donations reached, up to December 20th, the total of £2,432 1s. 9d. This is only a little more than enough to cover the cost of the party while in the field. The printing and distribution of the *Quarterly Statement*, and the management expenses, call for another 800*l*. The Committee, however, find on all sides a renewal of the old interest which had naturally diminished while the preparation of the memoirs and maps for publication was the only occupation of their officers, and expect a much larger support next year.

Will every subscriber remember that about one-third more than was subscribed this year is *absolutely necessary*? It is too much to ask every one to increase his subscription by one-third, but if every one would only persuade one other to subscribe with him, there would be no difficulty. The circular enclosed may be useful for this purpose. It may also be pointed out that the splendid maps already issued, and those which will be published in the spring, together with the Memoirs and the *Quarterly Statements*, have thrown such a flood of light on Biblical topography, as to render all previous publications on the subject comparatively valueless. What has been done for Western Palestine will now be done for the East, with results equally valuable. It is not a great

thing to ask our 4,000 subscribers, to whom the *Quarterly Statement* is sent, to make up between them the sum of £3,500. And the Committee's hands are greatly strengthened by payment being made early in the year.

During the last twelve months the Committee have issued three volumes of their Memoirs, besides their reduced map of Modern Palestine. The Water Basin Edition of the reduced map with Mr. Saunders's "Introduction" will be ready for the new year. The next volume of Memoirs will also be ready in January: the other volumes will follow as rapidly as possible; and the ancient maps will be completed, it is hoped, in the spring. In addition to these a General Index to the *Quarterly Statement*, 1869-1881, has been prepared and will be issued immediately; the pamphlet "Some of the Biblical Gains from the Survey" is under revision, and a new edition will be published as soon as possible; lastly an Index of Bible names with proposed identifications will be printed for and with the new maps already issued.

The Committee have resolved that Branch Associations of the Bible Society (up to March the 1st), all Sunday Schools in union with the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, shall be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the map (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee have to regret the loss of one of their most valuable members during the last quarter. The Bishop of Jerusalem, Dr. Joseph Barclay, died in the Holy City on Saturday, October 22nd, after a very short illness, and was buried the same afternoon in the Protestant Cemetery on the southern slopes of Mount Zion. Dr. Barclay was a Missionary in Constantinople from 1858 to 1861, and was then for some years Incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem. He returned to England in 1873 and became Rector of Stapleford, Herts. He was appointed to the Bishopric of Jerusalem in the autumn of 1879. His diocese extended from the Euphrates to the Levant in Asia, and in Africa from the west to the south of Abyssinia and Galla Land. Dr. Barclay was an accomplished linguist as well as a profound Hebrew scholar: he was able to preach in German, Spanish, Turkish, and Arabic.

The income of the Society from all sources from September 22nd to December 16th, 1881, was £969 17s. 11d. The amount in the Banks on Tuesday, December 20th, was £270 12s. 9d.

It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this

method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORT.

No. IX.

HESHBON AND ITS CROMLECHS.

Ain Faneili, 17th September, 1881.

SINCE my last report the Survey has been advancing steadily in spite of a week of most intense heat— 112° F. in the shade with a difference of about 40° between the wet and dry bulbs and with a hot dry ozone—less east wind.

Base.—Two cool days were selected, and on these the base line was measured. The north end is directly connected with the highest point in the ruins of Heshbon, the south end is on a knoll at the ruin of Kufeir. The total length is about 3.8 miles, and the two measurements (taken with a light chain compared with a standard chain before and after use) agree within two links (1.3 feet).

This cannot but be considered a highly satisfactory result, and could only be obtained by such careful and experienced surveyors as Messrs. Black and Armstrong are well known to have proved themselves. The ground was hardly as good as could be wished, and much inferior to that on which the two former bases were measured. The Ramleh base gave a difference of only 4 inches between its two measurements in 1871, in a distance of about four miles. The Esdraelon base had a difference of three links or 1 foot 10 inches in about four and a half miles. The character of the new base is thus quite equal to that of the previous work west of Jordan. The new base is *prolonged*, as it is termed, at its north end by a line measured at an angle of 60° , forming one side of an equilateral triangle, and thus exactly equal in length to the distance not measured on the main line; which construction was necessitated by the rough ground in the ruins of Heshbon. The prolonged portion (about a quarter of a mile long) was twice measured by Lieutenant Mantell and myself with a steel tape, and the results agreed within 2 inches, the ground being good.

Triangulation.—Twenty theodolite stations, including the sites of Heshbon, Nebo, Elealah, &c., have been selected, and observations have been taken from eight of these with the excellent 8-inch theodolites furnished by the Committee. We were fortunate in obtaining clear weather in which to observe our old stations west of Jordan, and we were even able to obtain a good line from Siâghah to Neby Samwîl, whence Jaffa—the original longitude station—can be seen. We also observed Rujon el Bahr in the Dead Sea, Jebel Kûrûntal above Jericho, Kasr el Yehûd near Jordan, and Kurn Sartabeh east of Shechem, and were thus able to fix our new triangulation in its proper position respecting longitude

and latitude. The junction is not yet as complete as it will be made finally, but our rough calculations show that the results derived from the new base are likely to agree in a most satisfactory manner with the calculations depending on the western bases. The new Survey may thus, I think, be considered to rest on a firm basis, and our subsequent work will constantly be checked by observations to the stations on the western watershed, where cairns exist which we rebuilt in the earlier summer months of the present year.

The American Survey cairns are well built, and the stations skilfully selected. The use of these stations has saved us several days of labour, in addition to which the Arabs have a most fortunate propensity towards the construction of cairns on every high top—a reminiscence perhaps of the worship of Nebo or Mercury—and we are thus often able to make use of structures which are not likely to be disturbed because custom has made them familiar to the wild shepherds of these mountains.

The survey of detail has commenced, and the examination of the ruins by Lieutenant Mantell and myself, in a few days some 100 square miles of the new Survey will be completed all round Heshbon.

Heshbon.—The ruins of the capital of Sihon are at first sight disappointing. Shapeless mounds of hewn stones, rude pillars and cornices of Byzantine origin, a great pool on the east, a ruined fort on the south, numerous caves and cisterns with remains of a colonnaded building on the highest part of the hill, are all that we have found. The details have been measured with the same amount of accuracy observed in the important ruins west of Jordan; but no inscription has yet rewarded our search, and although the site is very extensive, its buildings are evidently all of late origin (4th to 6th century probably). One curious illustration of Scripture appears, however, to be presented by the site. The eyes of the Shulamites (Cant. vii, 4) are likened to the “fishpools of Heshbon by the gate of Bath Rabbim,” and Canon Tristram points out that the bright pools in the stream which runs beneath Heshbon on the west, are probably intended. The plateau on the edge of which the city stands is reached, from this stream, by an ancient road which, at the top of the ascent, passes through a sort of passage cut in the rocks about 8 or 10 feet high and 3 or 4 yards wide. This entry to the site of Heshbon from the north-west is known as the *Bueib* or “gates,” and these gates looking down on the fishpools of Heshbon may perhaps be those noticed by the author of the Song of Songs under the name Bath Rabbim “Daughter of great ones.” From Heshbon a good view is obtained to the south over the great Belka plateau, and from the high top west of the ruins the Jordan valley becomes visible, with the mountains beyond, the thorn groves of Râmen being seen through the gap caused by the deep gorge of Wâdy Hesbân.

Of this hilltop (el Kerûmîyeh) there is more to be said later, for here we first came across one of the great centres of rude stone monuments which form one of the most interesting features of the new country, and present the oldest remains as yet found in Syria.

Identifications.—Several names of Biblical interest we have already

collected, among which the most important are apparently the five following :—

The Field of Zophim (שדה צפִים Numbers xxiii, 14) was at or identical with Pisgah or Nebo. The word signifying "views" comes from a root identical with the Arabic *Safi*, "clear" or "shining." My Arab guide volunteered the information that the ascent leading up from the 'Ayûn Mûsan to the top of *Jebel Neba* is called *Tal'at es Safa*. Thus on the side of Nebo we still find the name Zophim preserved unchanged, and this discovery, which is I believe entirely new, serves to confirm the ordinary identification of Nebo with *Jebel Neba*. We can have little hesitation in identifying the "Field of Zophim" with the plateau of arable land, a rich red field at the top of *Tal'at Safa*, from which the knoll of limestone called *Râs Neba* rises some 50 feet on the west. In connection with this question I may mention that I have taken careful notes on the spot of the view from Nebo, as former travellers have given different accounts of the prospect. It must be confessed that in many respects the panorama is disappointing, especially as it seems to be an impossibility that the utmost (or western) sea can be seen either from Nebo or from any other mountain in the district.

2. *The Ascent of Luhith* (Isaiah xv, 5 ; Jeremiah xlvi, 5) is mentioned in connection with Zoar and Horonaim. The valley leading up to the plateau west of Neba, on the south side of the ridge, seems still to preserve this name in the form *Tal'at el Heith*, which is well known. This *tala'h* or "ascent" communicates between two of the main roads leading towards *Madeba* from the plains of *Shittim*.

3. *Ja'zer* (יֶזְרָע), an important boundary town of Reuben and Gad (Joshua xiii, 25), would seem to answer to the large ruin of *Beit Zar'a*. The Arabic and Hebrew contain exactly the same radicals, but the guttural would seem to have been displaced, in a manner not unnatural, and of which other well known instances will be recalled. The situation of the site north-east of *Heshbon* where the plateau, called *Mishor* in the Bible, begins to rise into the wooded uplands of Gad, seems to suit well with the idea that the old tribe boundaries were as the modern still are, marked by natural features. *Beit Zar'a* is also possibly the *Zara* of *Josephus* east of *Jordan*.

4. *Sibmah*, mentioned (Numbers xxxii, 3-38 ; Joshua xiii, 19) with *Pisgah*, *Beth Peor*, *Beth Jeshimoh* (*Sueimeh*), *Nebo*, *Heshbon*, *Elealah*, &c., would possibly be the present important site *Sûmia*, where are ancient tombs, and a curious tablet close to the stream measuring 7 feet 3 inches in height by 8 feet in width, but entirely without inscription or sculpture. The "Vine of *Sibmah*" is mentioned (Jeremiah xlvi, 32), and it is interesting therefore to remark that the hill above *Sûmia* presents remains of several large wine-presses, and ruined vineyard towers. The *Onomasticon* places *Sibmah* 500 paces from *Heshbon*, which might perhaps be intended to represent the site of *Sûmia*. Remains of a Byzantine town exist here, and of a monastery, the masonry of which was used by *Makbil* in *Nimr* about a century ago in the construction of a little fort.

On one of the lintel stones in this building I found carved the cross potent or Jerusalem cross, which I have never before found in any other building in the country.

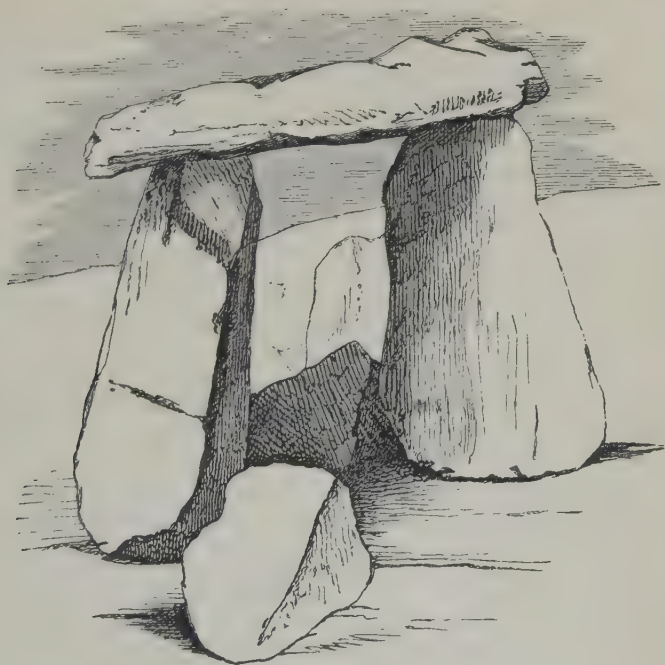
5. *Minnith* (Judges xi, 33) might be conjectured to be the present Minieh south of Nebo. The Onomasticon, however, places it four Roman miles from Heshbon. The mention in connection with Aroer would seem to suggest a southern situation like that of Minieh.

I find on careful enumeration that we have only some 40 Biblical sites to discover between the Arnon and Hermon, and besides those already given I have several to propose which await confirmation by further enquiry.

Heshbon Cromlechs.—My time and attention for several days have been wholly devoted to the wonderful rude stone monuments with which this district abounds. The contrast in this respect with the west of Jordan is very striking, and is perhaps accounted for by the supposition that the Jews deliberately destroyed all traces of these structures—connected as they must clearly have been with the barbarous religion of the early aborigines. In Galilee, where Jewish influence was probably never predominant until a late period, a few cromlechs still exist. In Moab and the Jordan valley they are marvellously numerous. On one hill I have gathered 26 examples, and in three days nearly 50 cromlechs have been planned, sketched, and photographed. At Jebel Neba and el Maslûbiyeh other groups occur, and we are informed that they are even more plentiful in the Ghor.

Time will not allow of a detailed account of the various specimens, but some of the general results are of sufficient interest to be summarised. In the first place it seems to me that these monuments are not sown broadcast over the country, but that they are referable to certain centres which represent the old sacred places of the primitive inhabitants. One of these centres appears to be the rounded summit west of Heshbon, already noticed and called el Kerûmiyeh. There is a flat plateau west of the summit some 200 feet lower than the highest top. This runs out westwards about 300 yards, and terminates in a knoll commanding a view down Wâdy Hesbân. The lower knoll was once apparently crowned by a cairn, of which the foundations remain, and a circle of stones of moderate size surrounded the cairn, the circle being about 40 feet in diameter. Lower down the hill on the west are remains of a second circle of about 200 yards diameter, consisting of two rows of stones with a path or interval of 8 feet between them. Outside this circle, on north, south, and west, are groups of cromlechs of every size and form. At least 26 were clearly recovered, and others fallen, or of less distinct character, were noticed. The best specimen is on the north near the fort of the spire which rises some 800 feet above the valley. This specimen, found and photographed by Lieutenant Mantell, has a table stone measuring 9 feet by 8 feet, supported by two very square, standing stones, and measures 5 feet 6 inches in the clear under the table stone. On the plateau north-east of the central cairn and circle is another fine cromlech of equal dimensions. These

two are the largest and most lofty, the average height of the standing stones being about 3 feet, with a table stone 5 feet square.



There is a second group of cromlechs on the north side of Wâdy Hesbân, more than a mile west of the Kerûmîyeh hill, and it is remarkable that these, numbering at least 16 in all, are placed so as in every case to obtain a view of the Kerûmîyeh hill east of them. They all occur on the east slopes of the hill, and none are found on the west. Other specimens occur on the south slope of the hill north of el Kerûmîyeh. From this circumstance it seems likely that the Kerûmîyeh hill—the highest near Heshbon—with its cairn and circles, was a sacred mountain, and that the cromlechs were built facing it, just as the modern Arab builds his little stone piles—degenerate offspring of the mighty works of former times—in positions whence the sacred centre might be seen with the sun rising behind it.

It is remarkable that the mountains thus covered with cromlechs are also those where the modern Arabs pile their stone heaps or kehakîr, which they are accustomed to place in sacred spots or along roads, at points where shrines first come into view. They explain these piles to have reference to Neby Mûsa west of Jordan, but they are more probably

intended to propitiate the Ghouls, for the cromlech obtains the name *Beit el Ghoul* or "Ghoul's House" from the Bedawin.

In a former report I have noticed the stone circles still erected by the Arabs. We had an opportunity the other day of observing the cultus of these sacred circles, which consists in placing a small offering on the lintel or cromlech, which in most cases occurs on the west side of the circle. The worshipper then touches the lintel with his forehead and mutters an invocation to the local divinity. We have found a single example in which the lintel was on the east of the circle, but this was in the vicinity of a very sacred place, *Kabr 'Abdallah*, towards which the worshipper at the lintel thus faces.

The theory that the cromlechs were graves seems to me to be contradicted by the fact that the three stones stand in most cases on the live rock. In many cases circular holes are found in the top stones of the Heshbon groups; these are sometimes 8 or 9 inches in diameter and 2 or 3 inches deep. Possibly they may be connected with the use of the cromlechs as altars, either as receptacles for blood or for fire.

The cromlechs have no special orientation. They occur generally on the hill slopes, not on the summit, and are found where fallen blocks were abundant and where open ground sufficient for a few worshippers exists. They are raised high enough to command a view of the sacred centre, but the labour of climbing to the top of the hill, or perhaps the yet more serious difficulty of transporting large blocks to the heights, seems to have induced their builders to choose comparatively accessible positions. The two standing stones do not appear to be essential, but the top table stone may be supported in any convenient manner, so long as it is propped in a fairly horizontal position. Large flat blocks with a single small stone inserted beneath, occur among the cromlechs, and seem to have been less ambitious attempts at constructing a rude altar. Strata of rock in other cases have been prized up, and supported by a stone on the lower side, while in some instances three flat stones stand one on the other. Circular holes are often excavated in the live rock close to the cromlech.

The existence of cromlechs surrounding a large cairn on Nebo is of great interest. The mountain where Balak's altars were built took its name apparently from Nebo—the planet Mercury, and for this reason is said to have been changed by the Reubenites—possibly to Pisgah; (cf. Numbers xxxii, 38), and Nebo like Baal Peor and Baal Meon was no doubt a centre of Pagan worship.

Mercury or Hermes was one of the earliest of the Semitic gods, and under the names Set and Thoth was worshipped by the Egyptians, the Hittites, and the Phœnicians. He was essentially a stone-god. The Talmud records the practice of throwing stones on to a heap in honour of Marculim, and the Latin proverb recalls the same curious species of worship. Not only Nebo but possibly Jebel 'Attârûs, with its great cairn, may be connected with this ancient cultus, the name of the latter being very close to the Arabic 'Attârûd, the name of the planet Mercury.

Should the fact of the relation of the cromlechs to these mountain

centres be established by further observation, we may perhaps obtain a clue for the discovery of Baal Peor, and Bamoth Baal, both of which are as yet doubtful.

Some curious rock-cut chambers are found in connection with the cromlechs. They are generally 3 to 5 feet long, 3 feet broad and high. In other cases they are 6 or 7 feet long, and were evidently once tombs, but the shorter ones, which are the more numerous, seem hardly to have been intended as sepulchres. They are almost always excavated in detached cubes of rock 10 to 15 feet wide, and in many cases these blocks have been subsequently overthrown by earthquakes or landslips. There is as yet no evidence whether these excavations are as old as the cromlechs, nor indeed do we know how old the latter themselves may be. The cromlechs appear to occur in connection with ancient towns, and this may account for the association with the rock chamber. We have not found any flint instruments or chips near the cromlechs, though several specimens of rude flint instruments occur at 'Ain Hesbân on the flat ground near the stream.

North of 'Ain Hesbân we have as yet seen no cromlechs, but specimens are known to exist in Mount Gilead. It might perhaps be suggested that the "throne" of King Og (עֶרֶשׁ Deut. iii, 11), rendered "bedstead" in the English version, and usually supposed to have been a sarcophagus, may really have been a cromlech. The dimensions (12 feet by 9 feet), are rather larger than those of the cromlechs as yet measured. This throne was to be seen at Rabbath Ammon, and cromlechs still exist at 'Ammân, which we shall measure with unusual interest.

Geology.—The observations as yet are not sufficiently numerous to allow of important deductions, but the general succession of the strata is unmistakable. The Nubian sandstone attains to a thickness of some 2,000 feet above the Ghor as seen in Wâdy Hesbân, and is of all colours from slate and mauve to light buff or white. Above this follows the hard dolomitic limestone, found west of Jordan, forming a second step in the hills, and a third step is made by the soft chalk, with flint bands, which forms the substratum of the Belka plateau. The water sinks through this formation, and there are consequently no springs on the plateau, but only a few wells, while on the sides of the great slope of 4,000 feet leading to the Ghor, beautiful streams burst forth at the base of the chalk, above the impervious limestone. Every valley at this level, some 2,000 feet above the Mediterranean, has its springs and streams, fringed with oleanders and canes, which flow murmuring down the gorges falling in cascades over the rocks. The contrast of this rich water-supply with the scantiness of streams west of Jordan is striking. So far as has yet been observed the dip of the strata downwards towards the west is much less marked than on the west side of the Ghor, thus seeming to confirm the conclusion of Lartet that the valley was neither more nor less than a gigantic fault. Traces of volcanic action, and a hot spring, were noticed near Kefrein, but no basalt occurs in the district at present surveyed.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*

SUMMARY OF THE FIRST SURVEY CAMPAIGN.

1st November, 1881.

THE work was commenced on the 17th August, and carried on until the 29th October, when the party returned to Jerusalem; during this period of eleven weeks a total of 500 square miles was surveyed, but a great part of the time was taken up in preliminary reconnaissance, necessary before establishing the triangulation, and in measuring the base line. The actual rate of progress, after these preliminaries had been completed, was about 250 square miles per month, which is an average higher than any reached during the former survey, except during the campaigns which I conducted in 1875, when, however, the European Staff included three surveyors, whereas during the last fortnight of the present campaign only one surveyor has been working, in addition to the two officers.

The cost of the work, in spite of the heavy payments to the Arab escort, has been less than at any previous time, principally on account of the cheapness of food and forage. The collection of the names has given comparatively little trouble, as the Arabs knew the nomenclature well, and imparted information readily. Over 600 names were collected, and more than 200 ruins were examined. Some 400 cromlechs were found, and careful plans, sketches, and photographs of the best specimens were made. The idea put forward in a former report that these cromlechs are referable to certain centres was fully established, seven such centres being explored where the cromlechs occur in numbers, whereas in the other parts of the country not a single cromlech is found. In addition to cromlechs some very interesting *Menhirs* or standing stones were also found, and ancient stone circles occur in connection with both classes of these monuments.

Among the sites explored are Heshbon, Elealah, Madeba, Baal-Meon, Nebo, and Pisgah, the hot springs of Calirrhoe, Rabboth Ammon—where the party remained fifteen days among the ruins, and of which site a special survey has been very carefully made. In the Jordan valley search was made for the Cities of the Plain, but without any very conclusive results.

I think that we have also fixed with great probability the sites of Baal-Peor and of Bamoth Baal, in positions entirely unsuspected before, and we have some interesting suggestions to make in connection with the “bedstead” (or more correctly “throne”) of Og in Rabboth Ammon, as well as respecting the history of Balaam and Balak.

At 'Arâk el Emîr we made an interesting discovery of the probable method by which the enormous stones were brought from the quarries to the palace of Hyrcanus, and we explored carefully the existing ruins and copied the inscriptions and details of architecture.

The number of photographs taken by Lieutenant Mantell is 36 in all. A short account of these is attached, and copies will be sent as soon as possible

to England. The large majority of subjects have, I think, certainly never been photographed previously.

The discoveries of inscriptions have been few and of no great value. Two Greek inscriptions were found fairly preserved, and fragments of others were also discovered. A Roman milestone with a Latin inscription was also found by Lieutenant Mantell, and there are remains of a Greek inscription in the great Temple of 'Ammân. The Arabs, however, state that no stone like that of Dibon has ever been since found by them, although during the last twelve years they have been constantly searching for such relics.

A building explored at 'Ammân is likely to prove of great interest to architects. It has been previously described as a Byzantine church and as a mosque, but there can be little doubt that it is of Sassanian origin, probably about the same age as the Mashita palace discovered by Dr. Tristram. Its architecture, together with that of an early moslem Mosque in 'Ammân, seem likely to illustrate in an interesting manner the question of the style of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. Plans, sketches, and photographs of these and all the other buildings of 'Ammân have been obtained.

A number of interesting Arab traditions have been collected, some of which have a considerable mythological value. Statistics respecting the names, numbers, and property of the eastern tribes have also been obtained, although with some difficulty.

Full reports on the heads above enumerated will be forwarded as soon as possible, but the great press of work at the present moment renders it impossible to give more than a rude summary of the most interesting of our discoveries.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

NOTES BY M. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

NOTE II.*

Jaffa, 8th October, 1881.

BESIDES short expeditions to different places in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, I spent nearly five weeks in Jerusalem and its immediate environs. I started the 2nd August and did not return until the 7th September. Upon reaching Latrun I mounted one of the carriage horses and made my way to Amwās. There I obtained three fragments of ancient inscriptions, one Greek and two Roman; one of the latter is an imperial protocol. The Greek inscription consists of two lines; in the first line one can still distinguish the characters ΠΟΛ which are possibly part of the word ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ; if so this gives us the ancient name Emmaus Nicopolis. On the second line we find [Υ]ΠΑΤΙΑ either signifying Hypatia, a feminine name, or else the word *ὑπαρεία*, consulship.

Amongst the fresh inscriptions which I have collected at Jerusalem, and of which I have brought back either copies or photographs, I must mention the following:

A fragment of a Roman inscription containing the name of a certain 'Rufus' (with the addition of the word "*patronus*"), who may be identical with the governor of that name at the time of the revolt of the celebrated Barkochebas, which ended in the transformation of Jerusalem into a Roman province under the name of Ælia Capitolina.

Another fragment from the neighbourhood of Jericho.

A fresh Jewish ossuary with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions. Amongst the number are references to the following names, all of some interest:—

ΜΑΘΙΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΤΟΥ—ΒΕΡΟΥΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΑ
ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ—ΤΡΦΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ—
ΜΑΤΤΑΘΙΟΥ—ΒΕΡΟΥΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑΣ, &c.

One of these ossuaries has an epigraph written in cursive Greek characters which are not easy to decipher, and which are too indistinct to photograph. I have taken a careful sketch of it. Another has a Hebrew inscription (written in the early square characters) in which the name of Jesus is twice repeated, followed by some patronymic which I have not yet succeeded in reading.

Three fragments (Greek and Roman) from Colonia, a village near Jerusalem, one of which contains the letters ΝΙΑ—the end perhaps of the ancient name of this place which was apparently a Roman settlement.)†

* Note I appears to have been mislaid or not to have arrived.

† This locality is worth careful exploration. They told me of the existence of some long inscription, but I searched for it in vain; but I do not despair of finding it at some future time.

There are also a number of mediæval inscriptions of the period of the Crusades and of the later Jews. I especially noticed one at the base of one of the columns of the galleries in the interior of the Haram esh Sherif, and belonging apparently to the epitaph of some Templar. (Characters of the 12th century.)

[hic ja] cet D [ominus] Ogo (or Odo) de Bus.

Two shields of the 15th century, painted on paper and found glued to the interior wall of the Coenaculum, the present Neby Daoud, under an old plastering. One is dated 1414, and has on it the name of a certain Kunz (Conrad) the Geuder von Noremberg—the other with the name of Sigmund Laber would be of about the same period. Ancient writers, especially Faber, tell us that the pilgrims to Palestine were in the habit of affixing their names and arms on the walls of the sacred buildings which they visited. I have taken photographs of these shields, and send the one of Sigmund Laber as a specimen.

There are also a number of Greek inscriptions, for the greater part Christian; amongst them I found the epitaph of the Abbess of a convent on the Mount of Olives, of Armenian origin. I must also mention another Armenian inscription from Kerak on the other side of Jordan, which seems to be very ancient and of historical value.

I find that the making of false inscriptions is still carried on in Jerusalem. I revealed the existence of this species of imposture in 1874, and some of my discoveries regarding it are not wanting in interest.

I have paid particular attention to the Hebrew inscription (in Phœnician characters) discovered a year ago on the rock in the subterranean canal which connects the Pool of Siloam with the Fountain of the Virgin. I have spent a good deal of time in very uncomfortable positions in the aqueduct during my endeavours to decipher it, for the inscription has naturally attracted much attention; even now it is not fully understood. I think I have arrived at the correct reading of all those parts which are not completely destroyed, and I have some very good squeezes of it. I hope soon to write a paper on the subject, in which I shall endeavour to point out its exact meaning, and try to decide upon the origin of this channel. At present I will merely call attention to two facts:

Firstly.—Every one makes a mistake in considering this to be the first inscription in Phœnician characters yet discovered at Jerusalem. They seem to have forgotten that twelve years ago I discovered two in identically the same characters engraved in like manner on the rock which forms the outer wall of a cave near Siloam.

Secondly.—I think that with regard to the history of the source in question we must take into consideration *three* epochs; *the first*, during which the water took its natural course into the valley of Jehoshaphat, then much deeper than at present; *a second* period, when the inhabitants wishing to gain access to the pool without exposing themselves to the blows of a besieging enemy, bored an inclined subterranean passage through the rock, which enabled them to draw water from a well pierced vertically below the source; *the third epoch* being when the inhabitants, not content

with this defensive precaution, and wishing to deprive the enemy of the water which still continued to run into the valley, determined to alter its course, and caused it to run into a new bed which they formed for it under the hill, and thence into a large reservoir which they made in the valley of Tyropœon, and which was protected by the neighbouring walls. And it is to this latter work, I think, that the inscription refers ; the previous work being represented by the subterranean system discovered in 1867 by Colonel Warren under the hill of Ophel.

With respect to my own archæological researches I have two matters of importance to relate, leaving aside all secondary points.

Firstly.—I have succeeded in inducing the Turks to make some excavations in the interior of the Haram, such excavations being strictly forbidden to the Christians. I attained this result by referring to a certain Arabic inscription which I discovered years ago in the wall of the Haram, and which says that at *that point there are stones buried for the use of the Haram.*

As at this moment the Turks are proposing to make some repairs, thanks to this inscription, I was able to persuade them to make an opening in the wall, about fifty yards from the inscription where from certain indications I expected we might find a door which had been walled up and has hitherto remained undiscovered. My prediction was realized. The door was there, and gave access to the open ground in the interior of the Haram. They were continuing their excavations when I left, and it is not unlikely that they will make some very unexpected discoveries. I hope to return and verify the results.

Secondly.—I have been on the spot and paid a good deal of attention to the vexed question of the origin of the vast mausoleum called the Tomb of the Kings. And I think I am in a position to produce new and important, if not decisive elements of information on the subject. One result of which is, that I believe the sarcophagus which M. Sauly took to the Louvre, and which he and other authorities considered to be that of a Queen of Judah, is really the *sarcophagus of Queen Helena of Adiabene with her national name written in Adiabenean and in Hebrew.* My return journey to Jaffa was not without result. I went to Gezer and commenced some explorations which I hope will result in discoveries. My speedy return there obliges me to shorten this report. From Ramleh I have brought back fragments of a Greek inscription and a pair of capitals from Niane, a neighbouring village, on one of which is the same inscription that we found on the capital at Amwās—**ΘΙC ΘΓOC** engraved in a semi circle. I have also a bronze seal with the name *Cucius Aelius Optatus.* A short visit to Lydda had no result. But in passing Sarfend I obtained two more fragments of inscriptions, one Greek, the other Arabic. I noticed, whilst there, indications of important ancient remains, to which I hope to return.

From the 19th to the 21st September I made a hasty visit to Haifa, Carmel, and St. John of Acre, in order to prepare for the researches which I hope to make a little later on.

Amongst my various expeditions in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, I must mention my rambles to the south of the town, a region very little known, and which even the map of Palestine leaves unnoticed. I have discovered some very interesting points, ancient cities rich in remains of buildings, pottery, glass, mosaics, etc., especially Tell Dalbeh, Hajar Gādām, and above all *Tell Younés*. All these points are situated between Jaffa and Yabneh.

Amongst the objects with which I have lately enriched my collection of antiquities, I must mention :—

The handle of a dagger in enamelled copper of the time of the Crusades.

A Jewish ossuary with ornamentation in relief (very rare).

A beautiful fragment of a sculptured marble vase.

A Greek inscription from Moughar.

A fresh brick of the 10th Legion *fretensis* (Beit Jala).

A fragment of a Greek inscription from the Necropolis of Jaffa.

A radiated head of Helios (bronze statue from Tripoli).

A winged Cupid (bronze statuette from Gaza).

Four fragments of Greek inscriptions, and one Hebrew from Gaza and Ascalon.

A little bottle of crinkled glass.

A cylinder with Egyptian hieroglyphics.

A Phœnician scarabee in pierre dura.

A leaden ball.

A glass Tessera with a Cufic inscription (from the same places), etc.

NOTE III.

I. EXPEDITION TO BEIT DEJAN AND SAFERIYEH.

AN ANCIENT TOMB.

Jaffa, 22nd October, 1881.

THE Caimakam, or Governor of Jaffa, Youssef Effendi, is a most intelligent man, and has a taste for archæological research, which I have done my best to encourage. A little while ago he begged me to go and examine an ancient tomb recently discovered near the villages of Beit Dejan and Saferiyeh, on the left of the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. I hastened to avail myself of his invitation, and we started on the 24th June, accompanied by an officer of the Zabtiyeh (gendarmerie), who had been despatched on the first rumour of the discovery to preserve the monument

and any objects of value which it might contain. For a distance of about six or seven miles we continued along the road which leads to Jerusalem, passing the village of Yazûr,* the sanctuary of Imam Ali, and the village of Beit Dejan. Between the third and fourth of the small block-houses which command the road all the way to Jerusalem, we turned off, bearing to the left across country and in the direction of the western plain. After walking about a hundred yards over undulating ground we arrived at a spot called *Wâdy Abu Rûs*, which may be translated "valley of the father of heads," or better, "valley of heads." This valley is formed by a very slight depression of the plain. It is accurately marked in the Survey Map, only its name is not given. There we found at a depth of about three feet below the ground the newly discovered tomb, half exposed to view. It consists of a rectangular receptacle in soft calcareous stone, and is of the ordinary dimensions. But the lid (cover) which had been already raised to get at the interior is of a peculiar type. About a dozen years ago I had one dug up which was exactly like it, at a distance of about seven miles from the *Wâdy Abu Rûs*, and in the direction of the Mussulman sanctuary of *Nebî Danian* situated to the south-east and close to Lydda. This specimen was carefully raised under my directions, and a drawing of it was made by M. Lecomte during my mission of 1874.

The top of the lid has simple finials (*acrotères*), one at each of the angles and one in the middle of each of the longer sides; the top is made with inclined planes, the intersecting edges of which form a large cross.

It is possible that this cruciform design is not the result of pure hazard, but that a religious feeling suggested the choice of this particular geometrical form. With the aid of some fellahin from the village of Beit Dejan we completed the digging out of the tomb, but neither on the exterior of the tomb nor on the top did we find the slightest trace of any characters or inscription. One of the two longest sides of the tomb had been stove in either by some one in search of treasure or by the pressure of the earth. We next examined the interior, which was partially filled with mould, but in spite of the most careful search we did not find a single object; the bones, however, were in their respective positions, and I at all events hoped we should recover the skull, as it would have been an object of interest for anthropologists; but in vain did we search for it, although the position in which it should have occupied was clearly indicated both by the position of the bones and by the place formed for its reception at one end of the sarcophagus. The search ended, the fellahin carefully replaced the bones, saying amongst themselves that they were perhaps the remains of some saint, which possibly caused them to look on our researches with no very friendly eyes. In

* For a long time Yazûr was supposed to be Gezer, until I discovered the true position of this royal city of the Canaanites at Tel el Gezer, near Abu Shusheh. This discovery was confirmed by some inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek characters engraved on the rock, and giving all the letters of the name of the town.

replacing the heavy top, it broke through their want of skill, and they were then ordered to cover the whole with earth.

The absence of the skull is certainly remarkable, and naturally leads to the supposition that the occupant of the tomb may have been decapitated. On this hypothesis the defunct must have been the victim of one of those religious or political turmoils of which Palestine was so often the scene.

I cannot help connecting the fact with the name of the valley—*Wādī Abu Rūs*, "valley of heads," by which the place is locally known, and the still more characteristic name of "*Maqtaleh*"—place of murder or slaughter—borne by a neighbouring spot on the opposite side of the road to Jerusalem. I am aware that popular tradition (which by-the-bye always requires strict examination) accounts for this name by a commonplace story of brigands and cut-throats; but it is not improbable that in this tale we may find the obscure survival of some events more or less historic and belonging to one of those periods to which I have alluded. Popular tradition is more tenacious than exact; in every country it follows a sort of law which may be resolved into the following somewhat paradoxical formula: "Tradition only preserves the truth at the expense of changing it." In no place is this truer than in Palestine, the classic ground of tradition.

One may suppose that the tomb is not an isolated one, but that it belongs to a group of sepulchres made at the same period, and in which were buried a number of people (possibly Christians), who had met with a common and tragical fate. In any case I think it would be advisable to carefully explore the immediate vicinity of this tomb, which possibly indicates the existence of a large or small necropolis belonging to either Beit Dejan or Saferiyeh. The actual spot is in the territory of Beit Dejan.*

These two villages—Beit Dejan and Saferiyeh—undoubtedly represent two ancient sites.

For a long time the first was supposed to be identical with the Beth Dagon (Βῆθ Δαγών—Καθὰρ Δαγών) of Eusebius and St. Jerome, which they regarded as the Biblical Beth Dagon of the tribe of Juda, and described as being between Diospolis (Lydda) and Yabneh. The modern identification

* Joshua xv, 41, בֵּית דָּגֹן, the house of Dagon, the celebrated god of the Philistines. "Dajûn" (Note). I believe I have found a mention of this locality, Dajûn, in the Samaritan chronicle "El Tholledoth," under the form of Tsadjoun, "Abraham, son of Our of Tsadjûn, is the father of the children of Tobiyah and of the children of Gala. ("Asiatic Journal," 1869, pages 443 and 405, the translation of Neubauer.)

There is also mention of this place in the Arabic Treatise on Geography of *Moqaddesy*, which is of great importance. I am not able to quote the passage exactly, not having either my previous MS. note or the later publication of the text by M. Goeje by me, but in it the different routes branching away from Ramleh are enumerated: the road to Lydda, to Jaffa, to Egypt, etc., and finally, the road to Dajûn (داجون), "which leads to the town of that name."

seems to me to be open to question. About seven years ago I discovered to the south, and towards Sitt Nefiseh, an ancient site called *Dajûn*, which does not appear in the Name Lists, and which answers quite as well as Beit Dejan to the description of the Beth Dagon given by Eusebius, and St. Jerome, and from a topographical point of view even better, for we cannot say that Beit Dejan is situated between Lydda and Yabneh, while *Dajûn* actually is; hitherto the latter place has escaped the attention of explorers, and its name is not marked on the Survey map. *Dajûn* is certainly worthy of exploration, and it is one of the places which I have marked on my programme. With regard to Saferiyeh, Van de Velde has suggested that it is the episcopal *Σαριφαια*, which is mentioned in several ecclesiastical documents, and which has been supposed to lie a little more to the south-east near Sarfend. If future explorations lead to the discovery of a Christian necropolis in the position which I have indicated, the hypothesis of Van de Velde will gain weight. I shall not lose sight of this interesting question, and I propose to commence further excavations directly I have a favourable opportunity.

It would be necessary to bore round about the tomb we have already found. I must add that owing to the suspicious disposition of the fellahin we were unable to find out the exact date of the discovery, or the circumstances which attended it. Upon consulting my old note-books, I came across the following passage written at Jaffa in 1874, "There is a talk of an ancient tomb having been recently discovered at Saferiyeh." But at that time I had not sufficient leisure to allow me to verify the report. I am inclined to attribute to this period the caving in of the side of the sarcophagus. I am assured that the fellahin often search for ancient tombs with good results. The people of Yahudiyeh, a little village to the north of Saferiyeh, are the cleverest at it; and I am told that for this purpose they use long iron bars, with which they bore into the ground.

I must verify these reports, and endeavour to have an interview with these fellow archæologists.

II. EXPEDITION TO AMWĀS.

(EMMAUS-NICOPOLIS).

ON the 25th June last, feeling somewhat better and being able to spare a little time from the affairs of the Vice-Consulate, I determined to make a two days' expedition to Ramleh, Goubab, Latrûn, Amwās, and Lydda, the chief object of my little tour being to examine the ruins of the church at Amwās, and especially a Hebrew inscription which has lately been dis-

covered there. Not being well enough, however, to bear the fatigue of riding I was obliged to go by carriage, a mode of progress which proved most awkward. I reached Ramleh at eight o'clock in the morning, and whilst the horses were being baited I took a hurried ramble through the bazaar and the town, and talked to some of the inhabitants, who were most of them old acquaintances, with a view to further explorations at Ramleh. It is a most interesting town, but as a rule it is neglected by travellers, as they usually pass through it at night. It is chiefly on account of its Mussulman antiquities that it deserves attention. The Crusaders, also, erected some important buildings, notably a fine church, which is now transformed into a mosque, and of which we made a plan and drawings with the aid of M. Lecomte in 1874. I drew especial attention to a fine and curious relief on the lintel of the door of the minaret, and of which I possess a very good drawing.

During my short halt, a workman of the town brought me a fragment of a Cufic inscription. I bought it of him rather by way of encouragement than for any actual value that it possessed. It is very necessary to act on this principle in Palestine in order to obtain things of real importance. A little money thus expended often has the best results in the future. It is only sowing to reap. I have always followed this system, and hitherto it has repaid me a hundredfold. On this fragment amongst other legible words I find سنة, year—but the date which should follow

and which would make it of value has unluckily disappeared. At Ramleh, both in the public and private cemeteries and religious buildings, there are a great number of ancient Arabic inscriptions which might furnish really valuable materials for a collection of Mussulman epigraphs.

In about an hour's time we recommenced our journey towards Amwās. Soon after leaving Ramleh we noticed towards the south south-east and to the right of the road, Abu Shusheh and Tel Yezer, commanding all this region, in which one notices the commencement of the orographic upheaval which further on develops itself in the mountains of Judæa. It is difficult to understand how this site, which is undoubtedly that of the ancient Gezer, and which is so visible to all travellers on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, can so long have escaped the notice of archæologists and explorers.

The strategic importance of this point alone should have sufficed to attract attention to it; Abu Shusheh, Kubab and Latrūn (the fortress of Amwās) form a triangle which completely commands the entrance to the mountains of Judæa. And this explains the number of battles fought in this region at the time of the Seleucides and the Maccabees.

At about eleven we arrived at Latrūn, having passed Kubab, which I hoped to examine on the way back. So far we had got on very well save for the rough joltings caused by the bad condition of the so-called carriage road, which was made about twelve years ago between Jaffa and Jerusalem. This road passes one end of Latrūn, which lies on the right

of it, but Amwās is some little distance from it on the opposite side. I was anxious to proceed there at once, but the heat had become intense, and I hesitated at carrying out my intention of mounting one of the carriage horses and riding to the church. Instead of doing so I told the coachman to turn off the high road and drive down a road which turns off from it a little beyond the "blockhaus" between Kubab and Latrūn, and which leads straight to Amwās at a distance of rather more than a mile. This road I believe to be really the old Roman way which ran from Emmaus-Nicopolis (Amwās) to Gezer, and which crosses the modern road to Jerusalem at an angle of about 45°. It is the same road by which Eusebius and St. Jerome measured the four miles which they gave as the distance between these two towns. I must admit that I speedily repented my resolution of driving along it, for after rumbling on for a few hundred yards over large boulders the carriage gave a violent jolt and was turned over by a sort of embankment. The shock was terrible. My head came in contact with an iron bar, and for some moments I remained under the carriage completely stunned. At length I succeeded in disengaging myself, and with the help of some fellahin, who ran to the coachman's aid, we succeeded in lifting the carriage up again, and in the end I did what I ought to have done at first, mounted one of the carriage horses and in a few minutes reached the ruins of the church. There I found that a little building had been erected to facilitate a surveillance over the work of exploration which has been undertaken at the expense of Mlle. St. Cricq. Captain Guillemot is directing it with much zeal and intelligence, and several ecclesiastics had come from Jerusalem to view a discovery which they suppose will supply a perfect proof of the truth of a religious tradition to which I shall refer later on. As soon as I had recovered from the effects of my shaking, I proceeded to examine the inscription which was the principal object of my journey. In default of photographs I must give a short description of it. Unluckily the photographs I took with the gelatine bromide process proved very imperfect when I developed them at home. Doubtless the plates were injured by the overturning of the carriage. But I shall be able to replace them directly I go to Jerusalem, as the monument has now been transported to Bethlehem. It consists of a capital of white marble in false carved Ionic style, coarsely and irregularly sculptured. On one side between the two traditional volutes is a cartouche in form of a *titulus*, having to the right and the left the two little side pieces which it is supposed to be fixed by. On the cartouche is an inscription written in two lines, separated by a horizontal stroke and engraved in Archaic Hebrew (that is to say Phœnician) characters. It can easily be deciphered $\frac{\text{ברוך שם}}{\text{ולעולם}}$ "Blessed be His name for ever!" It is exactly the reading which I had suggested from the imperfect copy of the inscription sent to me on its first discovery, but from that I could only give my intuitive conclusion, and I felt a certain doubt as to its accuracy. On the other side, disposed in a circle, is the inscription ΕΙC ΘΕΟC εἰς θεός. —"There is one God." Finally I discovered a large mason's sign, on the part

intended to be placed downwards on the top of the shaft of the column.

It is a sort of **S** and I suspect it is more likely to prove a numerical letter. To complete the description of the capital, I soon found on one side an eight-pointed star contained in a circle; and on the other side a sort of "fascies" tied with a band.

The capital was found in the pavement of the left hand side amongst other miscellaneous remains, used in like manner for paving this part of the building at some epoch which it would be well to know.

The formula $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ though it may be equally well applied as a general dogma of any one of the three great monotheistic religions, is in this form essentially Christian. It occurs very frequently in the stone inscriptions of Syria where it was apparently very popular. Probably it was from there that it passed into the creed of Islam under the form عِوَّاس —god alone. A glance at M. Waddington's Greek and Latin inscriptions in Syria, shows us how frequently it occurs either laconically, as in the present instance, or else accompanied by words which more precisely define its scope.

As examples I may cite the following :—

On the lintel of a door at Oum-el-Jemal (Nabat)-

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma + \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ with the cross.*

On another lintel at Dāna (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ [\omicron]\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha,\ \beta\omicron\eta\ \theta\acute{\eta}\tau\omega$ —(of the year 483) †

On a lintel at Kokanaya (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (of the year 318). ‡

On a lintel at Katoura (Antioch)—

$\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon},\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota,\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (of the year 331). §

On the doors at Dellouza (Carriotide and Apamena).

+ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, etc. ||

On a lintel at Deir Seta (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \beta\omicron\eta\ \theta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\alpha\sigma\omega$ (of the year 411). ¶

At Domeir (Damascus)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\ [\beta]\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \theta\eta[\nu]$. **

At Dama (Trachonite)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\ \beta\omicron\eta\ \tau\omicron\ \beta\epsilon\iota\eta$. ††

At Salmeütha (Batan)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\ \beta\omicron\eta\ \theta\omicron[s]$. ‡‡

At Oum-er-rumman (Nabathæan)—

$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta[\epsilon\omicron\varsigma]$. §§

* No. 2,066.

† No. 2,689.

‡ No. 2,682.

§ No. 2104; notice

the strong form of monotheistic affirmation. || No. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2,606 \\ \text{or } 000 \end{array} \right\}$. ¶ No. 2078.

** No. 2,562 b.

†† No. 2,451.

‡‡ No. 2,262.

§§ No. 2,057.

At Deir-el-meyās (Nabathæan)—

[Eἰς] θεὸς ὁ β[ο]η[θ] [ων].*

At Bastra (Nabathæan)—

Εἰς θεὸς κ[α]νος [] Ἀμην.†

It would be easy to multiply examples of this formula. I will conclude by citing Sinaic inscriptions, one of Jezzīn (region Sidon)‡ another of Cyprus (Golos)§—an amulet belonging to M. Perétié with εἰς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν κακά—and especially an inscription at Arzouf-Apollonia εἰς θεὸς ὁ ζων.

The Christian character of this formula is clearly demonstrated by these examples. It is probably of Jewish origin, and must have sprung from the well-known verse (the fourth) in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy,|| which contains the word יהוהאחד, Jehovah, rendered in the Septuagint by κυριος εἰς, and which precedes the dissertation on the Commandments. It is worthy of remark that this formulā is generally found inscribed above the entrance doors, as ordained in the ninth verse (with regard to the Commandments, of which it is, so to say, the preamble), “and thou shalt write them on the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.”

This Jewish connection agrees well with the double inscription on our capital, in which the Hebrew and Greek are so closely associated, and of the former of which I will endeavour to give some details. The sense seems to me quite clear, though I foresee that attempts may be made to give other readings in order to justify certain preconceived opinions. But I think that my reading of it will be accepted by all those who have had any real experience of Semitic epigraphs: “*Blessed be His Name for ever*”—in reference, naturally, to the Name of God. The phrase seems to have been taken literally (with the omission of only one word) from Psalm lxxii, verse 19, “And blessed be His [glorious] Name for ever.” It is exactly the anthem of the Roman Liturgy, “*Sit Nomen Domini benedictum in secula*.” There is a similar form which frequently prefaces the

inscriptions of religious offerings at Palmyra, לברוך שמה לעלמיה “to

Him Whose Name is blessed for ever.” Making allowance for phonetic and grammatical variations between Hebrew and the Aramaic dialect in use at Palmyra, it is word for word the same as the formula which we

* No. 2073 b.

† No. 1918, or rather Εἰς θεὸς Ἀμην κ[α]νος (*sic*); M. Waddington corrects by καλος—perhaps it should read (ι)κανός—sufficing, and to be compared to the Arabic formula “God, He is enough,” and “God sufficeth me; He alone is enough.”

‡ E. Renan, “*Miss. de Ph.*,” p. 20.

§ Collected by M. Colonna, Accalok.

|| It is, properly speaking, the axiom of monotheism, besides which it plays an important part in the Jewish liturgy.

are considering. Very often the dedicatory word ל, "to" is omitted,* and the formula appears in the shape of a simple exclamatory invocation, **ברוך שמה לעלמא**, "*His Name is blessed,*" or "*blessed be His Name for ever !*"

That we find this ancient Hebrew inscription on this particular capital is certainly very extraordinary, more especially from a palæographical point of view. For, in the first instance, if we adhere to the now well-known law which governed the development and changes in Hebrew writing, we should have to place the date of this inscription (written as it is in Phœnician characters) at a period long anterior to the Christian era, whilst, on the other hand, the style of the capital, and the presence of the Greek inscription (which from its appearance we should attribute to the fifth or sixth centuries after Christ) "on its opposite side," quite contradict this conclusion.

We cannot possibly suppose that the two inscriptions belong to different periods. Plastically the one is the pendant of the other, and the longer sentence seems equally a grammatical sequence of the other, as though we had to deal with a mixed phrase, half Greek, half Hebrew : "*there is only one God, may His Name be blessed for ever !*" Also it must be acknowledged that in the Hebrew part of it the word God is understood. This ellipsis certainly is not opposed to Semitic ideas, as we can see by referring to the formulas at Palmyra, which have just been cited.

Whatever they may be, these two phrases seem inseparably joined one to the other, both with regard to their position and their age. This leads us to ask why they should have used, several centuries after Christ, a Hebrew alphabet which, according to all historical and archæological researches, had fallen into complete disuse, having been replaced by the square characters. There is but one possible reply to this question, namely, that it was an *artificial archaism*, similar to those which have been found on Jewish coins. On them we also find inscriptions in the ancient Phœnician characters. Though we ought to make some exceptions with regard to the earliest coins, the evidence with regard to the later utterances is convincing, those, for instance, which took place under Barchochebas in 135 A.D. These epigraphic anachronisms have their parallels in other countries and periods, and are easily accounted for by the national or religious prejudices, which caused the Jews then in certain cases to make use of the ancient Hebrew alphabet, which had already become important through disuse. This factitious revival, however, must not put us on the wrong scent. Upon carefully examining the palæography of the inscription on this capital, one feels at once convinced that it belongs to about the same period as the above-mentioned coins. It is not impossible that it was

* Psalm cxiii, 2; cxv, v. 2. Daniel ii, v. 20. I would cite as examples the following numbers from the collection of M. de Vogüé: "Syria (Central)," Nos. 78, 79, 82a, 82b, 85, 87, 88, 90, 94, 100, 101, 112, 115. M. de Vogüé has already drawn attention to the similarity of this Palmyrian formula and the Jewish and Christian invocation.

either from them, or from documents of the same character, that the graver of the inscription took his models for the letters. I have not the necessary materials by me to enable me to make a careful comparison, or to determine the exact issue of coinage, which it might have been, as for that purpose it would be necessary to have the actual specimens before one's eyes in order to examine them. I must content myself with pointing out the curious form of the *vau*, which occurs three times, and which is almost identical with that generally adopted on the copper coins, which are supposed to belong to the earliest period,* and which form but seldom appears in the subsequent utterances. I would call attention also to the little hook which forms the lower part of this letter  This peculiarity is quite in accordance with the tendency in the Hebrew alphabet to curve (towards the left) the tails of the lower part of the letters . The word  is separated from  by a visible point. We know that the separation of words by means of a dot is found in the oldest form of Semitic epigraphy.

Before endeavouring to fathom the motive with which so curious an inscription came to be made, it is necessary first to inquire why it was graven upon a column, and also for what purpose this column can have been used.

There are examples of inscriptions having been placed on capitals, for instance, in Cilicia, at Cyinda, at Tarsus, and Mopsuesta; but keeping within the limits of Palestine, I may mention one which I discovered at Nablus, on the capital of one of the columns of the large mosque,† and which, if I remember rightly, runs thus **ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΙΑΚΚΟΥ** *Lucius Iacchus*. This epigraph is really very different to the one we are considering—it evidently has reference to the name of the giver of the column, and is therefore similar in appearance rather than in reality.

I have already mentioned that the lower side of our capital possesses a mason's sign. We know that not only in the early mediæval, but also in the early classical and Byzantine periods, these signs were very often the

* As far as I can judge from an imperfect reproduction which I have, the copper money attributed to the period of the first revolt and issued by Simon, has the shin, the ayin, the lamed, the resh, and the vau, very like the ones on our inscription.

† On the abacus of a capital in the Corinthian style, at the western extremity of the nave and the second column of the northern row. More than this, at one of the angles of the volute there is a B, probably a numerical letter signifying No. 2, and on noticing the position of the column we find it is really the second of the row. The conclusion which may be drawn from this latter accordance of number and position, is that for the churches erected at the time of the Crusades (and since turned into mosques by the Mussulman), the builders made use of foundations and materials which had belonged to more ancient edifices, and that they paid attention to their position. I think I have proved the existence of the same thing in the Great Mosque of Gaza.

actual initial of the masons—the mark of the builders. But I doubt whether this is the case in the present instance, on account of the nature of the sign which I am more inclined to consider a numerical letter; the *episema Fav*. If it had been any other letter, one might have supposed it to be as an initial of the name of the workman, but at this epoch the *Fav* was no longer a letter, but a number pure and simple, signifying 6. On this hypothesis our capital is marked number six, which naturally leads to the conclusion that there were at least six similar capitals. I say similar, for had they been exactly alike, it would not have mattered which of the six shafts received them, consequently, the numbering of them would have been useless. This care in marking the position which they were to occupy, shows us that they were sufficiently alike to satisfy the requirements of architectural symmetry, and perhaps also to be mistaken one for the other, and seems also to prove *the presence of inscriptions which had to be placed in certain progression or in a particular order, as it is not impossible that they formed a series of sentences*. This last conjecture seems to me quite plausible, for whatever architectural combinations we may imagine, we should never regard a column as being entirely isolated. It must at all events have had a pendant, and this second capital would also have devices and inscriptions corresponding to the one discovered, or would more or less repeat them. But if we accept the sign as meaning six, this would bring under our consideration a group of not less than six columns. Looking at it in point of size, the capital is not large. The lower part, which is notched in a circle (or rather elliptically) in order that it may fit on to the shaft, measures in diameter, taken at two points, and running parallel, 0·31m. or 0·42m. The diameter of the column near the summit could not then have exceeded 0·36m. or 0·37m., which, taking the largest system of proportion, would only give a column of very moderate height. The height would naturally be limited by the distance at which the characters could be read, and the letters are far from large, so that we cannot recognise in it a portion of a large edifice; nor does it seem possible that it can have been one of the columns of the church, in which it now, after unknown vicissitudes, forms part of the paving. At the most, it could only have formed part of some interior erection, an altar, a ciborium, or even a baptistery. If the original number of columns may be taken at six, they might have been disposed in a circle, or else in a rectangular or hexagon form. I remember various specimens of baptisteries, built in the shape of a hexagon—there is one at Sienna, another at Parma, one at Aquileia, and in Central Syria there is one at Deir Seta.*

On this hypothesis the presence of religious axioms might be easily explained, provided that they were merely Greek Christian mottoes, like the almost hackneyed Εἰς Θεόν, and others of the same class which we meet with so frequently on the religious buildings in Syria. If the inscription is connected with a baptistery, one might recall the verses

* De Vogüé, "Syr. Centr. Arch. civ. et rel.," p. 117.

inscribed on the architraves of the one of St. John at Latrûn, which was constructed by Constantine, and restored by Sextus III.* But the appearance of a Hebrew inscription (and that inscription in archaic characters) is an unprecedented occurrence for which it is most difficult to account. One could understand it a little more easily had the inscription been written with square characters, such as were used at the period at which the capital was made, for we know that the influence of the Jewish over the Christian ritual was sufficiently great—especially in Palestine—to admit of the use of a language which had already given to the Christian liturgies such words as Hosanna, Alleluiah, Amen, etc. It is possible that if I had the minute directions contained in the “Guide de la peinture du Mont Athos,” before me (which unluckily I have not), I might find a proof that, in certain forms of Byzantine art, the use of short Hebrew epigraphs was permitted. In any case we know that in Christian art the square Hebrew characters were then still used for writing the ineffable name of Jehovah. It is no more extraordinary than the design of a seven-branched candlestick, an essentially Jewish symbol, found upon a fine capital which was discovered at Beit Jibrin, and of which we made a drawing during my explorations in 1874. I expect this column must have belonged to the ancient Church of Sandanna, which had some points of resemblance with that of Amwās. But I must repeat that the great difficulty lies in the archaic form of the characters. The half Hebrew, half Greek inscription, which I discovered on the shaft of a column, and below a seven-branched candlestick, in the mosque at Gaza, was in the square character.† One may next inquire whether the inscription may by some chance have been of Jewish origin, in the case of the capital having belonged to some synagogue. But it is scarcely worth while lingering over such a supposition. Even putting aside the thoroughly Christian formula *Εἰς Θεὸν*, it is certain that a Jew at that period would have made use of the square character, for we have a number of authentic Jewish inscriptions in Palestine dating from the first century of our era, and without an exception they are written in square characters. And even if we attempt to attribute it to the Samaritans, who have kept to the ancient characters down to the present day, we do not find in it any of the peculiarities which distinguish the Samaritan alphabet in the inscriptions on the most ancient of their (known) buildings, some of which date from the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ. It also seems very improbable that we should find a Samaritan building at Amwās. The inscriptions on the capital were evidently engraved from a Christian point of view.

With regard to the strange use of the archaic characters, it seems to me to have proceeded from a determined design which is worth our

* See the “*Liber pontificalis*.”

† This inscription, which I hope to describe at greater length elsewhere, is distinctly Jewish, and probably a dedication to a certain “Ananias, son of Jacob;” it is instead of a statue, the erection of statues not being allowed on account of the iconoclastic tendencies of the Jews.

consideration. According to my view the author calls attention to the past Jewish dispensation, a time which even then was comparatively remote. It is probably to the tradition, in commemoration of which the church was built, that we must turn whilst searching for the solution of the enigma. Here we are met by the grave questions—what was the name of this church, and what right has Amwās to be identified with Emmaus of the New Testament, the place at which Jesus supped with two of his disciples after His resurrection, and was recognized by them through the breaking of bread? It is no part of my present purpose to enter into a discussion with regard to this delicate topographical and religious question, one which has already raised numerous archæological controversies, not to say quarrels. But of this we may be certain, namely, that in the fourth century Eusebius and St. Jerome, both reliable authorities, considered the Emmaus of the New Testament to be identical with the town called Nicopolis, which is decidedly the Amwās of the Arabs. In addition to the many proofs which have been adduced in favour of this identification, I will add one which to me seems conclusive, and which I obtained through my discovery of the true site of Gezer: the inscriptions which I found engraved on the rock give the very name of this town. The position of Gezer, then, being fixed, so to speak, with mathematical accuracy, we gain the key to that of Emmaus, from which point the Onomasticon takes its bearing in giving the position of and distance to Gezer—and this measurement and description only applies to Amwās).

The house of Cleophas (one of the two disciples) in which the miraculous manifestation is said to have taken place, was at an early period transformed into a church. St. Jerome even speaks of the existence of a basilica; and Willibald, in the eight century, writes as though he had seen it, unless, indeed, he merely imitates St. Jerome. It would indeed be singular if the Christians, ready as they were to preserve and commemorate the smallest incidents in the life of Jesus (even on the slightest foundations) should have neglected to consecrate so distinct a tradition by the erection of a church.

We can understand that from the time when Amwās-Nicopolis* came to be considered identical with the Emmaus of the New Testament, the ancient church (of which this capital is apparently a remnant) would

* The ancient name of *Amwās*. As a secondary proof, I would point out that at the time of St. Jerome, the place which he identified with Nicopolis apparently bore a Hebrew-Semitic name equivalent to the actual Arabic Amwās. He explains the name of Emmaus as being *populus abjectus*. He evidently alludes to the Hebrew words **עַם מְאִים** *Amm + Maous*. This etymology is rather far-fetched, but it shows us that St. Jerome analysed in his own method the name *Ammaous* with an ayin similar to the Arab form *Amwās*. Also that, for this reason, he preferred the form **עַם מְאִים** to any of the other forms used in the Talmud. Moudjir-el-din says that the Arabic name **عمواس** is pronounced 'Amwās or 'Amawas. In the place itself I discovered a third method of pronunciation, *Ommās*.

become associated with the sacred and half-proved tradition. But even this does not explain the presence of the Hebrew inscription. We allow that this epigraph represented very nearly the laudatory formula for the blessing of bread according to the Jewish ritual) and was, perhaps, in reference to the act which, according to the account of the Evangelist, revealed to the two disciples the personality of the Founder of the Last Supper. But was it not quite apart from the end they had in view, to engrave this formula in characters which had ceased to be used long before the time of Jesus? The use of the ordinary square characters would have been quite sufficient. Why then this effort of erudition? Was it really a reference to the evangelical tradition, or was it not rather a pointing back to the earlier Jewish period? For the present I can only ask this question without pretending to solve it, though I hope to return to the subject. In the meantime I will point out one fact which furnishes food for reflection. Excepting in the two passages of St. Jerome and Willibald to which I have just referred, ancient writings, although containing a great deal about the Emmaus of the Gospel, are almost silent with regard to the church of Amwās. It is not until much later that any reference is made to it, and then under quite a different character.

It is then called the "Church of the Maccabees.* At present I cannot imagine for what reason this surprising name could have been given to it, nor can I understand how it originated. I cannot even say whether the writers, who have preserved this appellation, and who presumably had it upon the authority of earlier traditions, refer to the Asmonean princes or to the seven brothers of the same name who, according to tradition, were martyred under Antiochus Epiphanes. At an early period these two sets of Maccabees were already confused. Even St. Jerome falls into this error, which became general, and was favoured by the universal veneration in which the Jewish martyrs of Antioch were held (in the fourth century) throughout the whole of eastern and even in some parts of western Christendom.† In these more or less fabulous stories we see that they were the prototype of all the Christian martyrs. I should not be inclined to rely on this appellation as evidence, for the name may have been given to the church of Amwās at a later period, though if it has any foundation it would very well account for the use of the archaic characters, taken as they were from the ancient national alphabet, which was affected by the Maccabees and was a known characteristic of their dynasty. Certainly in no place would this perplexing epigraphical resuscitation be more likely to occur than in a church consecrated to the name of the Asmonean princes, or to the other Maccabees who were identified with them through an erroneous but wide-spread legend. Only on this hypothesis we must

* Tucher (1479), Mariti (1767), Quaresmius (1616), and several more ancient writers speak of the church of the Maccabees, a little distance from Latrūn and north of the road.

† The church of St. Just, at Lyons, was originally dedicated to the Maccabees.

allow that this appellation of the church was given after the time of St. Jerome, who, confusing the identity of the Asmoneans and the seven brothers of Antioch, associates their memory with Modin, but *never* with Emmaus. In the endeavour to reconcile all these conflicting points, we may imagine that the church or rather basilica of Emmaus was erected on the supposed site of the house of Cleophas, the scene of the miraculous supper—and that it contained a chapel, a confessional or a “martyrion” especially dedicated to the Maccabees. And this martyrion possibly contained, according to a usual custom, some relics taken from their actual sepulchre at Modin—the present Medyeh.* In which case the capital would belong to one of the columns which sustained the *ciborium*, or else may have ornamented the altar itself.

We know that the *ciborium*, a sort of baldachin placed over an altar or martyrion in a basilica, was supported by columns, the number of which might be two, four, or six, which latter number reminds us of the possible numeral on our capital.

If we follow this supposition still further, we may imagine that the designer of the Hebrew inscription on this capital destined to form part of the martyrion of the Maccabees, took for his palæographical model the great inscription on the tomb of the Asmoneans at Modin, and which perhaps contained almost literally our formula, with even other phrases which were reproduced on the other capitals of the *ciborium*. I need hardly say that I offer these conjectures with *great reserve*, and merely in order to give the data of a problem which still remains to be solved.

Whatever it is, the Hebrew inscription on the capital of Amwās is a most curious discovery, in spite of, or rather on account of its *not* belonging to a very remote period.

It is incontestably in the most recent form of the archaic Hebrew characters, and in virtue of its being the “terminus adquem,” it deserves to be inserted in the “Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.”

I cannot help being grateful to the good fortune which allowed me to bring to light (at an interval of a dozen years) both the most ancient and also the most modern known inscriptions in the archaic Hebrew characters, of which at present the Moabite Stone and the capital of Amwās form the alpha and omega.

After having examined the capital which has formed the subject of this long digression, I went and looked at the ruins of the church, a portion of which has already been excavated (thanks to the efforts of Mlle. de St. Cricq) under the direction of M. Guillemot. The two lateral arches have been entirely freed. The body of the church has, however, still to be excavated, and there, perhaps, we may make some interesting discoveries. According to my idea there is a chance of our finding in it some historical mosaic pavement, containing perhaps inscriptions which will throw *more*

* The distance from Medyeh to Amwās, as the crow flies, would, I think, be about seven Roman miles.

light on the past history and origin of the church, than all the suppositions to which for the present we are reduced. I think that the idea of excavating this church originated with me in the year 1874. It was true I only took soundings, but they proved to me that of the church erected previous to the Crusades a portion had been used again. It is another point of resemblance between the church of Amwās and that of Beit Jibrin. According to the laws of mediæval masonry, which I discovered and explained seven years ago, we are able to clearly distinguish the work of the Byzantine period from that of the Crusades, tracing it block by block. Further than this, on several stones cut or recut by the Crusaders, I have come across some lapidary signs which I shall add to the large collection I already have of these curious marks, and which some day I hope to publish an account of. Nothing is of more value for the critical study of the ancient buildings of Palestine, in the classing of which there is often such difficulty, than these technical indications, which are really a better guide than the considerations of style, which so often prove deceptive. I shall have occasion to give further details of the church of Amwās, the rest of which we hope soon to bring to light.

A few days after my visit to the ruins, M. Guillemot sent me a cutting of a fragment of an inscription, which in like manner had been discovered amongst the mixed pavement on the left side of the church, where the enigmatical capital was found. It is a piece of marble, with portions of an inscription on either side. The Greek characters, belonging to the Byzantine period, which can be traced on it, are fairly well executed. The following will give an idea of the inscription :—



It may be seen that it was no easy matter to decide on the words of which these letters are the remains. At first sight I was inclined to give as the reading of the first word on side A.—ε [τ] ε [ι] year. But the τ is indistinct, and might be Γ. Again one is tempted to imagine it ἐγε [ιρε] especially as there seems to be an indication of the foot of an I after the second E. It is not impossible that it may be a quotation from the Psalms,* 'Ο ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν, etc.

This verse was used in the Christian epigraphy of Syria, as we may see by the inscription on the lintel of a door at el Barra, which is 'Εγείρει ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχον, etc. The first line of side B may perhaps be [ἀγ] ἰων, "of the saints." The second lines of both sides most likely were the same word. The fact of the two inscriptions being back to back seems to indicate that the inscription was either repeated or continued, and also that the stone was intended to be viewed from both sides.

This word in the second line is in both abridged, and contains the

* Psalm cxiii, v. 7.

letters **ΥΖΥΓς** followed, at least on side A, by **KA** [I].* The restitution of letters is naturally limited to a small number of combinations. **Εὐζυγος** belongs to poetical language, and would be out of place here. **Βουζύγης**, **Βουζύγιον** is no better. There remains **συζυγία** and its collaterals. But **συζυγία** may be taken in several senses; that of marriage might perhaps be appropriate. This supposition accords well enough with the **ἐίει**, and implies a distinct date. If I had even the index to the "Corpus Inscriptionum Grecarum," I could find out if **συζυγία** was ever employed for dates. We may suppose that this fragment belonged like the capital to the ancient church, and was re-utilised for paving.

In going through even the village of Amwās, I noticed several ancient fragments, capitals, and bits of frieze, etc., which testify to the importance of the ancient Nicopolis.

Above the door of one house I noticed a sort of vase or funeral urn made of black basaltic stone, and sunk into the wall, the concave side outermost. All round it were engraved characters, but of what nature I could not tell owing to their height. It required a ladder to reach them. I very much wanted to get at this vase, but the proprietor of the house was at that time imprisoned at Jerusalem with several other villagers who had been arrested after a violent conflict which had caused the death of a man. But it will be a thing to return to. In the immediate vicinity of the village the peasants are led to seek for ancient foundations in order to extract material for new buildings. I noticed here and there the traces of large ancient buildings. In one of their explorations they brought to light a huge block of calcite.† It had apparently been the lintel of a door. Inscribed on the cartouche is a Greek inscription, three lines in length. The characters are irregular, and so much worn away that it is very difficult to decipher them. I took a copy of them, from which I have made the following letters. The inscription seems to read—

**EYTXIT
OΓAMOC
ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ**

ἐντχ [ε] ἱτ [ε] ὁ γάμος διὰ βίου.

I must mention, however, that I am doubtful about several of the letters. The formula **ἐντυχεῖτε** has occurred in Syro-Greek epigraphs — and the orthographical form **ἐντιχίτε** is not peculiar. We may compare it to an inscription on the lintel of a door at Kseir, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, **EYTYXI ZWIAE KTICTA**. M. Renan, who discovered it, thinks it is a funereal inscription similar to No. 4564 in the "Corpus Inscript. Gr."‡ and another mentioned by M. de Saulcy in his "Journey round the Dead

* Waddington, "Inscrs. Gr. and Lat. of Syria," No. 2651.

† "Mission de Phénicie," p. 646. The name of the place Atabeh signifies threshold or lintel, and probably originated from this stone.

‡ Waddington, "Inscrs. Gr. and Lat. of Syria," No. 2398.

Sea," both of which are funereal, and contain the *ἐντύχει* or *ἐντύχι*. I cannot say anything definite with regard to the first, not having it before me, but the second would certainly read *ἐνψυχι*—which is a well known funereal exclamation. I doubt though whether the verb *ἐντυχεῖν* would be here taken in the funereal sense. In the following inscription of Deir el Leben (Auranite) it has a distinctly religious meaning, *Εἰσελθε χαίρων Ἡλιε τοῦ κόσμου Εὐτυχ[ε]ι*. Several times we find the adverb *ἐντυχῶς feliciter*, in the ordinary dedication of an edifice—often associated with the expression *Αγάθη Τύχη*.* *Εὐτυχεῖτε* is exactly the Latin *valet*, by which it is translated in the imperial and proconsulate decrees of which we have epigraphs.†

The succeeding words seem to be *ὁ γαμος δια βίον*, so that the whole seems to constitute a sort of nuptial exclamation. It may be compared to a Syrian inscription (at Dāmā, Trachonite), which also refers to a marriage, and is one of those I cited as containing the formula *εἰς θεὸς*: it ends with a vow made by the constructor of the edifice: *χὴ ὁ βοθεσας (sic) εἰς την οἰκοδομην βοηθήσῃ[ε]ς τοὺς γάμους*. No one can exactly fathom the meaning of this expression *διὰ βίον*—it occurs pretty frequently in the Græco-Jewish epitaphs of Italy under scarcely recognisable forms—*Zà βιον, διὰ βίο*, "*dia viu, ia bius*," and its actual signification is not yet decided. I need not point out that it is most interesting to come across it in Palestine, the country where it originated, and on a monument which to all appearance is Christian. Some explain it as referring to earthly life, others consider it a funereal exclamation which alludes to the life eternal; a translation

from the verse in Daniel xii, 2; **לְחַיִּי עוֹלָם**? —*εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*—*ad vitam æternam*, equivalent to *διὰ βίον αἰωνίου*. Our inscription thus adds a new point to the problem. It remains for us to know whether it refers to the indissolubility of the human marriage tie according to the Christian ideas, or rather to the symbolic marriage under which image the New Testament and the early fathers designate the mystic union of Christ and the Church. Before giving a decision it would be necessary to know whether the lintel had belonged to a religious or to a private building; whether it formed part of a house destined for the reception of a bride, and ornamented accordingly with a device at once pious and gallant, or whether it belonged to some chapel.

We may compare this formula with various nuptial sentences written in letters of gold on glasses and other objects evidently given by Christians as wedding presents—for instance, the *feliciter nuptiis* of the

* For example, at Meschough (Nabat), Wadd., *op. cit.*, No. 2053, shows us that we must correct No. 2491 from *ἐν τοχος* into *ἐν τυχωῶς*; also No. 2197 in the same way, at least, if it be not a proper name, see *ἐν τυχωῶς* at Ephes (Wadd., *op. cit.*, No. 150), and *ἐπὶ ἐντυχία* at Aphrodisias of Caria (*ibid.*, No. 594).

† For example, Wadd., *op. cit.*, gives (No. 866) a letter from Antonius the Pious to the Panhellenes of Aczanitide—it occurs before the final date. Also No. 877 ends with *εὐτυχεῖτε*.

celebrated golden medal struck on the occasion of the marriage of Marcius and Puleteria. It only requires the addition of the epithet *æternis* for us to find in it almost a literal translation of our Greek formula.

NOTE IV.

Jaffa, 19th November, 1881.

AN Arab of St. John of Acre has given me copies of two inscriptions, one of which is of considerable interest.

The first is from the village of Yerka, situated at a distance of about ten miles from St. John of Acre. It is in Greek, and as far as I can judge from the words which I have been able to decipher, it must be Christian. It is, however, incomplete, the right hand portion being still underground. The copy is too imperfect to be of much use, and I shall not risk giving an interpretation of it until I have at least a good squeeze. On the other side of the paper are more characters, apparently Greek, and copied perhaps from another inscription at the same place.

The second copy comes from St. John of Acre, and is sufficiently clear to admit of nearly all of it being read. It is the epitaph of a Frenchman, a certain Gautier Mein Abeuf, and of his wife Alemane.

Ici gist sire Gautier Meine-Abeuf qui tres (passa) an l'an de l'incarnation notre Seign(o)r Jhu. Crit. (M) CCLXXVIII, a XX iors de ive, esc espouza Madame Alemane qui trespasa a XX (?) iors dou.

I send a slight sketch of the copy I have before me. I need hardly add that both the sketch and the above reading may need alteration when compared with the original. In the year 1275 the Crusaders were still in possession of Acre, their last Syrian stronghold. It was at that time and in that very city, which was so soon destined to fall again under the Mussulman yoke, that Charles of Anjou, through his representative the bailli Roger de St. Severin—disputed the crown of Jerusalem with Hugues III, endeavouring to gain what was already no more than an empty title.

I have been lucky enough to come across a document which enables me to identify the subject of our epitaph. I have found his name in a chapter granted by Jean de Ibelin—Sire de Barut—on 15th September, 1256, to the Teutonic Knights, letting them the Casale Imbert* and the appurtenances thereof, for a term of ten years. Amongst the witnesses we find the name of *Gautier Maynebeuf*. I do not know whether the spelling has been accurately given by the editors of this work, but the original character, written in French, is, I believe, preserved amongst the archives

* Situated between Tyre and Acre.

of Venice. Although the orthography is different, the identity of the name is, I think, certain. I would also point out that Gautier Meine Abeuf was very possibly a relative of Barthélemy Mainebeuf, one of the vassals of Julian, Sire of Sagette, whose signature we find at the end of a deed of sale drawn up for his suzerain in 1254.*

Meine Abeuf or Meine à beuf seems to me a merely different form of the name Mainébeuf, if it is really thus that these names are spelt in the original documents, which unluckily here are not accessible to me.

The name of the wife Alemane recalls that of the family of Aleman who played a somewhat important part in the Holy Land.† The inscription has various orthographic irregularities, and contains several points which deserve to be examined by experts. For instance, I do not know what to make of the character which ends the epitaph of the husband; perhaps it is indistinct at this point: one would naturally look for the name of a month—June or July perhaps.

The wife, it seems, died the same year, in the month of August, and apparently soon followed her husband to the grave; the exact date of her decease is uncertain, as the units following XX are indistinct.

The epitaph of Madame Alemane was, I conclude, added afterwards, and, as far as one can tell from the copy, was not so carefully engraved, for the letters are not divided by two points, as are those in the epitaph of the husband. But whatever its correct form may be, this inscription is none the less a precious record in connection with the history of the Crusaders.

A PHœNICIAN FUNEREAL TABLET.

THE bronze tablet from the collection of M. Péretié, of Beyrout, of which Lieutenant Conder, R.E., published a description and a drawing,‡ is of so much interest as a work of art, and an illustration of the religious ideas of Western Asia, that I would venture to add some remarks upon it. In these notes I have chiefly drawn upon Assyrian and Babylonian sources, as it is evident upon the most casual inspection of the bronze, that the Phœnician artist has also engrafted the mythological conceptions and art representations of Assyria and Egypt, and even of the tribes of North Syria, the Hittites, into his representation of the Story of Death which he has portrayed in so weird a manner in this tablet. The mixed character of the sculpture is quite in agreement with the other examples of Phœnician metal work which have been preserved to us. In the bronze bowls from Cyprus, which form so valuable a portion of the Cesnola collection; and in

* Archives de Venise. Mélanges diplomat. Busta XV, No. 297; also "Recherches sur la domination des Latins en l'Orient."

† Paoli Codice Diplomatico I, No. 123; also Ducange.

Ducange. Les familles d'outre Mer., éd. Rey, pp. 505, 559.

‡ *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1881.

the examples from Nimroud, found by Sir Henry Layard, the same fusion of styles is met with. The more explorations are carried out on the shores, and among the islands of the Mediterranean, the stronger are the facts which accumulate to prove how greatly the Phœnicians had contributed to the spread of culture and civilisation westward. Yet, strange as it may seem, this enterprising race of "the cunning Phœnicians," who in their black ships bore to Greece her alphabet and schooled her in the early paths of art—these early navigators, whose ships passed by the bounding pillars of Heracles, and who, returning, carried back with them the wealth of many lands, leaving behind them colonies whose influence extends even to the present day—have bequeathed to us no distinctive art remains, no purely national style of architecture. They seem to have borrowed, adapted, transmitted, but never to have invented. It was this hardy race who carried abroad the teaching of the schools of Nineveh, the art, the myths and legends taught in the temple schools, and thus spread the learning and wisdom of the Chaldean over the Mediterranean. The alphabet which they bore to the western world, and made the script of commerce and diplomacy, was but a modification of the hieratic script of Egypt, which they had found too cumbrous for the exigencies of trade. So in Assyria and Babylonia had their ancestors on the shores of the Erythrean Sea, adopted from the inventive Akkadians the script of the land in order to pursue their vocation of trade. Cumbrous as the cuneiform syllabary was with its ideographs, determinatives, and polyphonic characters, these adaptive Semites had rendered it suitable to the required end. Art, mythology, and science had alike been borrowed and utilized by the kinsmen of the Phœnician in the Tigro-Euphrates valley. And if any conclusive proof of the way in which the Phœnician civilisation was made up of a mosaic of borrowings and adaptations was required, perhaps no more striking one could be produced than this tablet of which M. Péretié is the fortunate possessor. As I have pointed out in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," we may always see in the ideas which a nation held of the glories of the life to come—the state after death—an idealised form of the state of civilisation existent at that time. The heaven of the Assyrians was but an idealised life on earth; the god Anu, the Assyrian Zeus, held in heaven his kingly court, and it was but a glorified king of Assur, with his Ninevite court. The North-American Indian, whose daily existence is the hunter's life, sees his Ælysium in the happy hunting-grounds; and even the extent to which this may be carried, is shown by the Esquimaux's idea of heaven as a vast ice-house beneath ground, a conception which would seem irrational, were it not based on the earthly life.* This tablet of M. Péretié, with its symbolism gathered from so many sources, shows how mixed a character was the civilisation of Phœnicia. The figure which covers the back of the tablet, and grins over the top, is the demon of Death, "the devourer." The description of this figure given by Lieutenant Conder

* Rink. "The Esquimaux."

corresponds exactly with the figures of the Assyrian demon of death. The demon has four wings, a lion or dog's body, eagle claws, a short tail, and a serpent in front. The head is that of a lion or some beast of prey. This demon is again figured in the lower and largest compartment of the obverse of the tablet. This is certainly the "demon of death," the Namtar  or "destiny" of the Akkadians, a demon who was regarded as the chief opponent of "the life of man."* This demon, who was the servant of the Queen of Hades, or the "House of Death," the "Bit Mituv" or Arali, and was especially said to preside over that most terrible form of death in the East, "the plague." In that beautiful legend of the "land whence none return," the story of the descent of Istar into Hades (W.A.I. IV, pl. 31), Hades is called "the house of corruption," the abode of the god  IR-KALLA, a deity who bears the title of "the devourer," a name applicable to the demon of death, who is here fitly represented on this bronze as a beast of prey. The god of death, Namtar, was regarded as the son of Hea or Mul-ge, the Akkadian Pluto or Hades, and his wife, Nin-ki-gal or Allat, the Queen of the Tombland Arali, the Persephone of the Greeks. He was the servant of his mother, and when Istar, the rival Queen, penetrated into the land of death and its seven-walled city, it was Namtar or "Death" who was sent against her to afflict her with diseases in all her members. In my consideration of this story of death, which the Phœnician artist has derived from the Akkadian or Assyrian conception of that dread demon, I must reverse the order of explanation of the tiers or compartments of the obverse of the tablet, and commence with the lower, which affords us a glimpse of the land of death. Here we see depicted the voyage on the river of death, and the Assyrian origin of this tableau is very apparent. On the bank we see again the demon of death, who stands by the river of death. This tableau receives very full illustration from the voyage of Isdubar to visit the translated Tamzi or Adrakhasis, and to inquire of him the secret of immortality, which is detailed in the Xth of the Isdubar legends. Isdubar, to reach the abode of the Chaldean Noah, had to cross the waters of death, which no one had previously crossed, and to do this he has to gain the services of the Assyrian Charon, a deity whose name was Nes-Hea, the "lion of Hea," the god of the underworld, in whose boat the dead crossed the waters of death. The land where the translated Khasisadra dwelt was on the remote side of the river or waters of death, and its position is indicated in the Deluge Tablet. Khasisadra telling Isdubar of his translation, states that the gods took him "and caused him to dwell in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers." We may therefore consider the mythic house of death to have been in the extreme south of Babylonia, in the district now known as the Afadj. In these reedy marshes, with their dark

* Figures similar to this have been found at Nineveh, and one evil spirit thus represented was the demon of the hot south-east wind.—(Lenormant, "Chald. Magic.")

sluggish streams, was the dwelling of the departed, and through it flowed the river or "waters of death."* The representation of the stream which the Phœnician artist here gives, would seem to correspond to the Assyrian idea, as the river is flanked by tall dark weeds. The artist seems to have drawn in this compartment rather on Assyrian than Egyptian sources. But in the group of the voyagers on the river, we have one of those blendings of various conceptions which are so peculiar a characteristic of Phœnician art. The description of this group, by Lieutenant Conder, R.E., is as follows: "A fearful lion-headed goddess with eagle claws, kneels on one knee on a horse (the emblem of death), which is carried in a kneeling attitude on a boat with a bird-headed prow. The goddess crushes a serpent in either hand, and two lion cubs are represented sucking her breasts." Here we have a fusion of the Asiatic and Egyptian conceptions of the Queen of the under-world. The type, however presented, is extremely interesting, as it shows certain local features connected with the worship of the mother goddess. In the form which the Phœnician artist has presented to us, we can see blended together many of the various conceptions of the great Asiatic mother-goddess, the goddess, Anatha, or Anatis, whose worship was introduced into Egypt about the time of Seti I, of the XIXth Dynasty, and who was a war-goddess. On the rocks at Redosieh in Upper Egypt this goddess is represented as clad in warlike costume, mounted on a horse, and wielding a battle-axe: but her association with death is shown by a funereal tablet in the British Museum† where she is represented as standing on a lion, and holding in one hand flowers and in the other a pair of serpents. It is clear that the Phœnician artist has not confined himself solely to the form of this goddess as she appears in the Egyptian representations of the time of the XIXth Dynasty, but has also borrowed from the North Syrian form of the goddess as worshipped by the Hittites. The statue found at Jerablus or Carchemish, the sacred city of this deity, exhibits a somewhat similar conception to that of the Phœnician artist. The Hittite goddess had long locks, was full-breasted, and is representing as standing on a lion‡ or a cow§ both of which animals were sacred to her. It was this full-breasted goddess, the Nutrice of all nature, whose worship spread from Babylon to Ephesus. Neith, the Egyptian representative of this nature goddess, is represented as suckling crocodiles, and the statues of Artemis Polymastos represent her as giving nourishment to all the animal kingdom.|| This figure from the tablet of M. Péretié forms a link between

* The south point of the compass was with the Akkadian "the point of Arali," or the tomb.

† Figure in Sharpe's "Egyptian Inscriptions," and in Cooper's "Serpent Myths," *Vict. Inst.*, 1873. The name of this goddess occurs in the name Bent-Anat, the sister of Rameses II.

‡ On a sculpture at Milidijeh, on the Upper Euphrates.

§ A gem in the possession of S. Tommassini, of Aleppo.

|| See articles in the "Builder," 1880, on a "New Chapter in Art," where this connection is fully explained.

Nes Hea, the "Lion of Hea," the Assyrian Charon; it may be the sacred ship of the king of the under-world (W.A.I. IV, pl. 25) in which the goddess sails over the waters of the sea of the Inferno.

I now pass to the second compartment, which deals more especially with the departed one for whom the tablet was made; and here we see again how much the Assyrian or Akkadian teaching has been followed. To illustrate this I will first quote a fragment from the XIIth Isdubar legend, to which I have already referred, which seems very graphically to ascribe portions of this tableau :—

On a couch he reclines, and
 Pure waters he drinks,
 Who in the battle was slain. Thou seest and I see*
 His father and his mother (guard) his head;
 His wife weeps over him.
 Those who are his friends (allies) in the field† are standing.
 Thou seest and I see*
 His spoil of the earth he regards not.
 Thou seest and I see*
 Those who are his offspring long for food. The food
 Which is placed in the tent‡ is eaten.

The two fish-c'ad creatures who stand by the couch are two spirit messengers of Hea, the life giver. The attributes of this god are clearly shown in a tablet of the Creation series—

Lord of the illustrious incantation, vivificator of the dead,
 Who to the hostile gods has granted a return,
 The homage they have rendered he has caused his opponents to bow
 down to;
 To fear them he made mankind:
 The merciful one with whom is life.

In this same hymn we find Hea, whom M. Lenormant has proved to be synonymous with the Musarus Oannes, entitled "the lord of prosperous life." In some cases Hea deputed his son Merodach, the Silik-mulu-khi, "protector of the god man," the work of raising the dead to life. The two demons who are fighting in this tableau are the evil spirits, the wicked  U-tu-ki or demons, who being ejected from the body of the dead man, are now fighting with each other: "Of each other they take hold," as the magic formula above quoted states. This ejection by Hea and his son Merodach of the devils or evil spirits which in the form of sickness or disease and even death possess the man is

* This passage is a dialogue between Isdubar and the witch who has raised the spirit of his friend and chief adviser Hea-bani, the Satyr. Hea-bani was to Isdubar what Samuel was to Saul.

† Heaven is regarded as a vast camp.

‡ This probably refers to some custom similar to the Egyptian offerings of food.

the great doctrine and basis of all the Babylonian religio-magic creed. The bearded figure on the right of this group is somewhat difficult to explain, it seems to me best explained as the shade or εἶδωλον of the man for whom the tablet was composed. The extent to which this idea of the soul as a transparent form of the body was very elaborately worked out among the Egyptians is shown by M. Renouf* in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology." The idea of the shade was not unknown to the Assyrian, as in the XIIth Isdubar legend, from which we have already gained so much information, the spirit of Hea-bani when raised by the witch from Hades is said to be transparent like glass. This passage has been somewhat differently translated by Professor Sayce, but I think there can be little doubt about the reading, "The spirit of Hea-bani as glass from the earth ascended." I therefore, judging both from Egyptian and Assyrian analogies, think that we may see in the figure here represented as bearded and clad as the Phœnicians are represented on the monuments, the shade of the departed one for whom the tablet was engraved.

The two remaining compartments of this tablet are purely symbolical, and probably represent the deities of the Phœnician pantheon who were worshipped at the time when the tablet was made; and in them we see the same borrowing and appropriating of symbolism from surrounding nations. In the lower of the two tiers we have the gods and their bodily forms, while in the upper we have their symbols.

The deities all face to the right, and so commencing with the first, I will endeavour to explain some of the forms here represented.

- (1.) The serpent-headed deity is probably the Phœnician Ophion or **אֹפִיֹן**, the history of whose defeat by the god El resembles that of the defeat of Kirkir Tiamat, the dark serpent, by Merodach.
- (2.) The bird-headed deity may be the same as the raven-headed creatures which figure on the walls of Assyrian palaces, and these "men with the heads of ravens" mentioned in the Cutha legend of the creation. They were called NAT-TIḲ by the Akkadians, but to which of the great gods they belonged is doubtful. The figures may be of Egyptian origin, and represent Phœnician forms of Ra or Khonsu. (See Birch's "Catalogue Egypt. Antiq.")
- (3.) The boar-headed figure. This must be the Winter god of Phœnicia, who with the boar's tusk of winter slew the youthful Tammuz. The boar does not appear in either Assyrian, Akkadian, or Egyptian mythology.
- (4.) The "ram-headed;" this is in all probability the Egyptian Chnoumi, who had passed into the Phœnician pantheon.
- (5.) The dog-headed is possibly the genius of the inferno, one of the four dogs of Merodach, or perhaps a form of death as the devourer, like the Vedic-Yama. (See M. Müller "Rig. Ved.")
- (6.) The lion-headed is the Akkadian and Assyrian NERGAL, the

* Vol. vi, on the word "Ka."

god to whom the lion-headed figures and winged lions were dedicated. He was like Horus the midnight sun, which illuminated the "land of death."

It would seem to me, as far as I am able to judge, that we have here the gods of inferno, the gods who rule the "land of death and darkness, and oppose the passage of the soul of the good man;" and it may serve to illustrate the emblems of these seven gods, to quote the following from a hymn addressed to the Seven Evil Spirits. (W.A.I., IV, pl. 6.) "The passage unfortunately broken may be of use. In the recurring days* were the wicked gods, rebellious spirits, who in the lower part of heaven had been created; they wrought their evil work, devising with wicked heads at sunset;† as a sea beast to the river they turned. Among the seven of them, the first was a scorpion‡ . . . the second a thunderbolt, the third a leopard,§ the fourth a serpent, the fifth a watch dog,|| the sixth the raging tempest,¶ which to god or king submits not; the seventh the messenger of the fatal wind."

I have endeavoured in these notes on the animal-headed gods only to suggest points which may be of use to other students, and I anxiously await the results of the examination of this valuable tablet by that master of Phœnician art and archæology, M. Ganneau, who will no doubt be able to solve many points which are now obscure.

The upper tier is occupied by the symbolic emblems of the gods.

In the consideration of this portion of the tablet, I would venture to suggest that these are the emblems of the *good gods*, the protectors of the good man deceased against the hostile gods figured on the tablet. The emblems are nearly all of them common to Assyrian and Babylonian religious tablets, but some of them appear to be of special interest in the religions of Syria and Phœnicia, and so I will add a few remarks on them, referring students to tablets and sculptures in which similar examples are to be found—

(1.) The Seven Stars, the Pleiades, the god invoked in the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib as the "god Seven," →→| . On the

* The seven *Mustakridhat* of Syria, from February 25th to March 3rd, when evil spirits were supposed to have special power. (Sayce-Smith, "Chald. Gen.," p. 99.)

† The period when the evil spirits and demons begin their work, after the sun, their great opponent, has gone to rest. Compare the Hebrew idea of the "pestilence that walketh in darkness."

‡ "The piercer of the rain-cloud," most probably the lightning, *birku*, the  "Smasher."

§ *Nimru*, a leopard or panther, the Arab  *nimr*. This may be one of the carnivorous-headed figures of the tablet.

|| This must be the equivalent of the Indian Vama and his dog, and perhaps the deity from whom the Dog River derives its name.

¶ The winter-cloud, the boar-headed figure of the tablet, whose rude onset slew Tammuz the Summer Sun.

statue of Esarhaddon, at the mouth of the Nahr el Kelb, these appear, and I do not know of any other royal statue on which they appear, though they are frequently found on the gems. I should be inclined to connect them with the Cabiri.

- (2.) The crescent moon is certainly the emblem of Istar or Astarte. She was, as I have shown, the goddess of the moon from the commencement of the last quarter to the end of the first. The Hittite moon goddess has a helmet surmounted with a crescent.
- (3.) The winged circle, the Persian Fervhar, is the emblem of the golden rayed sun-god. (*See "Athenæum,"* September 6th, 1881.)
- (4.) The rayed disk the moon.—The solar disk when not represented as the winged circle of Fervhar, is distinguished from the lunar by having eight star-like limbs, and eight wave-like rays, so seen on the tablet discovered by Mr. Rassam at Abou Hubba or Sippara of the Sun, the Chaldean Heliopolis, and on the boundary stone of Merodach-Baladan I (B.C. 1300), and Merodach-Nadin-akhi (B.C. 1100).
- (5.) The two next emblems   are difficult to explain, but they appear to be the Asherah or wooden posts, the אֲשֵׁרָה or אֲשֵׁרִים, the posts which, like the fir tree of Cybele, took so important a part in the worship of the Asiatic mother goddess.
- (6.) The Trissul is here clearly the thunderbolt of Rimmon, the Jupiter Tonans of Syria and Assyria. This is of frequent occurrence on seals and gems, and on the statue of Esarhaddon at the Nahr el Kelb, and on the boundary stones mentioned above.
- (7.) The peculiar club or staff  is the emblem of Merodach in Assyrian, and probably of the Phœnician Melkarth. It is the weapon described in the tablet of the War of the Gods. It is the same as Khreb חֶרֶב borne by Perseus against the Dragon which tradition says he slew at Joppa, and of which a tradition may linger in the story of St. George, located in St. George's Bay at Beyrout.*
- (8.) The horned cap was the emblem of Baal or Bel, and was always worn by him. The examples of it are numerous, on the Bavian rocks, on the statues of Assurnazirpal, Samsi-Rimmon, in the British Museum, and that of Esarhaddon at the Nahr el Kelb, and on the boundary-stones mentioned above.

The curious group of figures arranged in the lower compartment are very difficult to explain without a careful examination of the original tablet, and I think that the suggestion of Lieutenant Conder of their being offerings to the shade "and the gods of death" is a very possible solution. At the same time I would suggest the comparison with Hittite inscriptions, whereof the signs, as far as I can distinguish of them, several occur. On

* On a boundary stone of the 14th century B.C., discovered by Mr. Rassam at Babylon, this staff has a dog's head.

the monuments at Jerablus we have the vase, the altar, jar, or basket, boots, horse's foot and quiver, the remaining character appears to be a harp, which does not occur.

In my account of the seals in the possession of S. Tommassini, of Aleppo, which appeared in the "Athenæum" of March, 1880, I pointed out how in one seal the Phœnician artist had turned a cuneiform character, meaning name or signature, into a *tree*, and worked it into the field of his tent. It is possible that we may have here a conventionalised representation which once was an inscription.

I must now conclude these notes, but if by them I have raised an interest in this valuable tablet, I shall be amply rewarded, and I hope that a careful photograph or a cast may be accessible to students, and that thus points now obscure may be cleared up. There are many matters I feel that students of Phœnician and Egyptian mythology can throw more light than I have been able to gather from the records of Assyria, on this—Story of Death.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

KADESH ON ORONTES.

THE report of Lieutenant Conder, R.E., on Kadesh, in the July *Quarterly Statement* (pp. 163 *et seq.*), is full of very interesting and valuable matter, for which all students of Hittite and Egyptian affairs owe him hearty thanks. But I cannot agree with him in identifying Tell Neby Mendeh (or Mindau, Mindoh, *Burton*; Mindow, *Porter*) as the site of the Hittite Kadesh, however the name may be found there. As Lieutenant Conder has mentioned, I took pains to collate all attainable Egyptian information for him before he left England, and I have since studied the matter again, and have given some results in a paper read November 1st, to the Society of Biblical Archæology. Now I will try to put the question clearly in the light of the Egyptian records, which are remarkably concordant, both in narrative and picture.

The celebrated battle-scene described by the court poet Pentaur is given twice on the walls of the Ramesseum. On the *second* pylon (Rosellini, M.R. cix, cx, Lepsius, "Denkm.," vol. iii, 164) the Orontes flows from the left into a lake which curves upwards, and at the top turns to the right, where the doubly-moated Kadesh stands on an island, with a bridge above and below, the *lower being south*, for the force of the Kheta, shewn there, crossed the *southern* moat to attack the brigade of Ra, as the narrative tells us. Below the river is a straight embanked canal, running right across the picture. The *first* pylon ("Denkm.," vol. iii, 157-160) agrees in these particulars, and we have to the left the important addition of the point where the canal flows out of the river on its *east side*, running north-east. In both Kadesh must be at the north-east end of the lake, which is at least five times as long as the island where the fortified Kadesh stands. In the enormous battle-piece of Abusimbel the Orontes flows similarly into the

lake (which, however, lies straighter in the line of the river-course); the island is at the lower end of the lake on its north-east side, and the river runs on, taking a decided curve, and then straightening its course once more. Here, likewise, are the Kheta troops across the *south* moat. But the parallel canal is only to be *inferred* from the movements of the Kheta and Egyptian troops, as I have shown in my paper.

Now all the precise statements of the records agree with the evidence afforded by the course of the canal in showing the position of the Egyptian tableau relatively to the points of the compass, and the inference is that the island-fortress stands at the north-east end of the lake, forming apparently (as I suggested to Lieutenant Conder) "a part of the great engineering works at the northern and lower end of the long lake, which included the great dyke, heading up the waters of the Orontes, by which the lake was artificially formed."

I cannot but identify this considerable lake, flowing north-easterly, with the present lake of Homs.

Lieutenant Conder would have it represent a mill-pool 50 yards across, to the south-east of the Tell, 400 yards long, but I think this quite a "disproportioned thought."

Nor will Tell Neby Mendeh suit in anywise the strategic conditions of the story. "The mound is remarkably conspicuous from all sides." We agree as to the route of the Pharaoh along the valley of the Eleutherus (Nahr el Kebir). "The Pharaoh crossed a ridge (400 or 500 feet above the lake) and descended into the plains north-west of (Lieutenant Conder's) Kadesh, near the southern shores of the Hittite lake," and consequently in *full view* of the great *ambuscade* of thousands of the allies posted (as we are told) to the north-west of Kadesh. This is precisely contrary to the Egyptian account, which makes the Pharaoh advance from the south, and fall heedless into the trap. On the other hand, if the great ambuscade were laid in the lower land to the north-west of the great dyke, where the chimney-tops of Saddeh are below the level of the lake (so much does the ground fall off), the Pharaoh might well have been lured by the spies into the most perilous security, while the Kheta king's chariots sped away on the other side of the lake, crossed the ford to the south-west of its higher end, and cut the Pharaoh from his supports, for their camp (we are told) was "on the heights to the *south* of Kadesh." Then the brigade of Ra, forming the south-eastward column, would be crushed on *that* side of the lake by the flank attack of the forces thrown across the southern moat of Kadesh; while Rameses with his body-guard was at bay, completely surrounded by the line of the Hittite chariots, on the opposite or north-west side of the lake. These are the details so well represented by the relief-pictures of the Egyptian walls.

I cannot but think them quite in accordance with the supposition which places Kadesh at the north-east outfall of the lake over its great dyke, and not reconcilable with the theory of Lieutenant Conder that Tell Neby Mendeh is the Hittite Kadesh. It seems to me that if any Tell now standing should be Kadesh, Tell Koteineh (Katani of Arrowsmith, Kattiniezh of Rey), by

the south-east end of the great dyke is far more likely. Here, or from the dyke hard by, Lieutenant Conder tells us "the flat basaltic slopes on the right *concealed the path by which Rameses approached.*" Here, perhaps, the moated stronghold might have stood, and the moats may long since have been filled and dried. Here and in the lower levels "behind Kadesh the wicked," the deadly ambush may have been laid. All this would perfectly accord with the narratives and tableaux alike, and I venture to urge a very careful attention to this spot and to the dyke itself, for I think with Professor Porter that "the Hittites seem to have been the original founders of that great embankment."

One word more. I thought at first, in view of the Egyptian records, that Kadesh must have stood on the *western* side of the Orontes. But I now see that the expression "Pharaoh had placed himself to the north of the town of Kadesh, on the west side of the river Arunatha," must apply to the Pharaoh, not to the town, which is clearly shown to be on the east side of the river or its lake. The name "Kadesh" seems to have wandered like "Koteineh," shown in Lieutenant Conder's sketch-map some three miles from the *Tell Koteineh*.

If we can by combined effort of explorers and students clear up this matter, and put the pick-axe into the true spot, I am quite sure that no one will rejoice more heartily than that excellent and now celebrated officer of the splendid corps of Royal Engineers, Lieutenant Conder.

HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE,

November 7th, 1881.

P.S.—I think it important to notice two points in the remarks of the Rev. W. Wright on my paper read before the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

I. Mr. Wright "had no doubt that in the poem of Pentaur two lakes were referred to—the little lake of Kadesh, around which the battle was fought, and 'the lake of the land of the Amorites,' namely, the Bahr el Hums, in the vicinity of which a part of the Egyptian army must have been when the battle began."

But it is really doubtful whether any *lake* is mentioned in the *text*; and in the battle-pieces there is manifestly only *one*, at the north-east end of which stands Kadesh.

II. Mr. Wright remarks: "It was easy to overcome distance on a map, but supposing the crossing place at each end of the lake to have been eight or ten miles apart, the Khita chariots must have gone careering round a circuit of forty or fifty miles or more during the battle."

This is a misapprehension. The tableaux show two *simultaneous* movements of Hittite chariotry in opposite directions to meet and form a circuit. The lake of Homs is 6 miles long, says Lieutenant Conder, and 2 miles broad.

Now the more extensive of these movements need not have covered more ground than 12 miles round the south-west end, and the other

movement 5 or 6 miles round the north-east end of the lake. An hour and a half would accomplish both together, the *aggregate* being 17 or 18 miles instead of "40 or 50 or more."

Moreover, these movements were *before*, and not "during the battle," and they were deliberately planned beforehand, with plenty of time for their accomplishment at leisure.

I believe that if Mr. Wright had studied the evidence of the monuments and maps his impressions would have been very different. My object is to have these brought fairly to bear upon a survey of the ground, especially taking account of the levels for 5 or 6 miles round the lake of Homs.

H. G. T.

THE ROCK RIMMON.

It seems from the last *Quarterly Statement* that Lieutenant Conder recently went down in the harvest time to the Rock Rimmon, into the cave of the six hundred, and stumbled over some startling conclusions.

I do not wish, like the Philistines, to rob his threshing-floor in Lehi (Hebr. belehi), but I should like in the strength of a Samson to beat out his gleanings with the *inquisitorial* rod, and to winnow the wheat with the *critical* fan, so that the chaff may be driven away by the wind of *sound* opinion. I will not discuss the meaning of Rimmon, as I can afford to leave it untranslated in Judges xx; 1 Sam. xiv, 2 (where A. V. has "pomegranate") but will pass on to the following points given in *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 247, as the results of careful examination.

- (a.) The Rock Rimmon was at the present village of Rummôn.
- (b.) The site of the latter "could not be more correctly described than by the term *Sel'a*."
- (c.) "The Hebrew word (*sela*) has not the meaning of precipice."
- (d.) The surviving Benjamites did not take refuge among the precipices of Wâdy Suweinît, east of Jeb'a, and so could not have hidden themselves in the cave called Mughâret el Jai.
- (e.) The cave "will not hold the number of fugitives mentioned in the story."
- (f.) "The name Rimmon no longer occurs in the vicinity."

The question of the true position of the Rock Rimmon has frequently been touched upon in these pages, viz.: 1879, pp. 103, 112-129, 170; 1880, pp. 106, 173, 236.

To sift the matter thoroughly, I will take the ears gleaned by Lieutenant Conder, one by one.

Sela.—This is a word against which several wrong identifications are dashed to pieces. I have stated (1879, p. 127) that "*sela* always means a precipitous rock, *i.e.*, a cliff . . . height alone does not entitle to the

name." On the other hand Lieutenant Conder urges and claims to show that *the word has not the meaning of precipice*.

He can hardly be unaware that such authorities as Dr. Stanley and Grove have rendered *sela* by cliff (another translates it crag), so that to remove this great obstruction, I must have recourse to a petard.

I take the following from a picturesque writer :—

"There is a great gorge called the 'Valley of Rocks,' a narrow but deep chasm, *impassable* except by a detour of many miles, so that Saul might have stood within sight of David, yet quite unable to overtake his enemy ; and to this 'Cliff (*sela*) of Division' ; there is no other place near Maon where *cliffs*, such as are to be inferred from the word *Sela*, can be found." Again he writes : "The heat and glare were oppressive, and I was glad *at noon* to rest under a white, chalk *cliff*, and was able to realize the force of the poetic language of Isaiah, 'The shadow of a great rock (*sela*) in a weary land'" (Is. xxxii, 2). Again, referring to the Rock (*sela*) Etam, he gives "eagle's nest" as the meaning of Etam. See "Tent Work," 1880, pp. 142, 245, 246. Yet even this testimony seems hardly sufficient to move Lieutenant Conder, who says my quotations are "scarcely sufficient to prove that *sela* should be rendered precipice."

I must, therefore, next call a *myriad* of witnesses from the land of Edom. "And other ten thousand left alive did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock (*sela*), and cast them down from the top of the rock (*sela*) that they were all broken in pieces" (11 Chron. xxv, 12). It is pleasant to observe that the LXX here translate *sela* by *κρημνός* (a precipice), and not by the indefinite word *πέτρα*. Five figures must be allowed to be sufficient to prove one point, so I conclude that *sela* does mean *a precipice*, here and also throughout the Bible, as I cannot find a single instance where such a meaning is out of place.

Lieutenant Conder urges, however, that in some passages *sela* can scarcely be understood as meaning a precipice, quoting two, viz., Ps. xviii, 2, "The Lord is my rock ;" but as the next words are "and my fortress," it is clear that a rock with (rather than without) precipitous sides best suit the Psalmist's meaning. He also quotes Ps. xl, 2, "Set my feet *upon* a rock"—adding, "a position hardly to be considered as one of safety and comfort." It is almost unnecessary to reply that here "upon a rock" means *on the top*, not on the side of a precipice, just as the watchman in Jezreel (2 Kings ix, 17) stood *on* (the same Hebrew word as in Ps. xl, 2) the tower, *not on its side*, in perfect "safety and comfort."

By thus conclusively demonstrating that *sela* means *a precipice*, we have at once disposed of the points *a*, *b*, *c*. The Rock (*sela*) Rummôn, as we have seen, was undoubtedly *a precipitous* rock, and therefore is not to be placed at Rimmôn, which Lieutenant Conder assures us "could not be more correctly described than by a word which, he urges, has *not* the meaning of precipice."

It is superfluous to prove to him the correctness of this, his own statement, by pointing out that houses at Rummôn are built upon the sides of

the knoll, that on the Survey map tracks are marked as approaching it from the four sides, &c. Therefore it could not be a *sela*.

The rival site has thus so completely vanished, that I need not bring into action my reserve passages, viz : Job. xxxix, 28 ; Prov. xxx, 26 ; Cant. ii, 14 ; Is. xxii, 16 ; xxxii, 2 ; Jer. v. 3 ; xxiii, 29 ; xlviii, 28 ; Amos vi, 12. Still the remaining points *d, e, f*, have to be considered.

I have already shown, 1880, p. 236, that from the battle-field near Gibeah the Benjamites fled eastwards towards the wilderness. The exact position of Gibeah is still unsettled, but it was not far from the great north road (*id.*, p. 237), and is, in my opinion, probably identical with Gibeah of Saul, and to be identified with Gibeath Ammah, *i.e.*, the hill of the metropolis (2 Sam. ii, 24), and this I place at Khurbet'Adaseh, about two miles to the east of Gibeon. Be this as it may, the Benjamites fled from the battle-field somewhere south of the latitude of er Ram (Judges xx, 31), in an easterly direction towards Gibeah, *i.e.*, Jeb'a (Judges xx, 43), towards the wilderness, and this course would take them directly to the precipices of Wâdy Suweînit.

Here, on the southern side of the wâdy, we find Saul (1 Sam. xiv, 2) in the uttermost part of Gibeah, *i.e.*, Jeb'a, under the *Rimmon* (A. V. a pomegranate tree) which is in Migron (*i.e.*, the precipice) ; here, too, was "a sharp rock" (A. V., literally, tooth of a *sela*), facing over against Michmash. No better hiding place could be desired than some hidden cavern among the precipices of this wild mountain gorge ; and as the Hebrews hid themselves (1 Sam. xiv, 11) *in holes* from the Philistines, I cannot see that Biblical authority is needed for their having concealed themselves *in a cave* from enemies bent on waging a war of extermination after two disgraceful defeats.

Why in the world the 600 Benjamites should be made to parade themselves on Rummôn, like flies on a sugar loaf, instead of being hidden away in a safe place, I have never been able to understand ; and if to the English mind it still seems unsuitable for those who run to run to the nearest and best place of refuge, instead of crossing seven miles of "most difficult country," then, mindful of Cetewayo's fickle fortune, I appeal from Japheth to Ham to decide what Shem would do when outnumbered fourteen to one.

Meanwhile I claim to have disposed of objection *d*, if only the cave is large enough, and this brings me to *e*, which I shall treat as *chaff*, as it seems to be so intended.

The tradition clinging to Mughâret el Jai that "sixteen flocks of one hundred sheep have been folded at one time in its main chamber" is valuable on account of the *six* and the *one hundred* ; the *truth* of the statement is of no importance. Still it occurs to me that it is hardly fair to use the Negeb or *south-down* measurement for sheep in the highlands of Benjamin, for such seems to be forced upon us, "if more than three sheep could scarcely be packed into two square yards."

Again, in making a space of six feet by three feet a *sine quâ non* for men hiding for their lives, Lieutenant Conder appears to me to assume

that the survivors were respectable aldermen of the Eglon girth, and not young desperadoes of the Ehud cut.

Such palatial accommodation would not be needed for men scarcely more civilized than the modern Fellaheen. The total area of the cave is said not to exceed 970 square yards, while the main chamber is about 500 yards square.

Now the Education Department in Kirjath-Sepher fixes the space to be allowed for each street Arab at 8 square feet, while Lieutenant Conder will not allow a Benjamite, after all his valour, to escape for his life into a cave of which the large room allows eight feet per man, or 14 feet including the class-rooms. Better it seems for the six hundred to be slain by Israel, than to have to cross their legs, or for only part of the number to lie down at once.

It is fair, however, to point out that Lieutenant Conder is more dexterous than I am in packing, when he has in view the sinister object of fixing the battle of Gibeah at Jeb'a. He says (1877, 105 ; 1881, 89) that at the latter place, there was a *cave* large enough to contain the ambush (Judges xx, 33). How large then was the cave, and how large the ambush? Josephus says half the army, *i.e.*, about 160,000 men. *That* cave must have been close and hot indeed. Happily Josephus sometimes writes fiction, and the ambush clearly did not lie in wait in a cave but *round about* (Judges xx, 29) Gibeah.

Further, Lieutenant Conder finds it "difficult to understand why the advocates of a Rock Rimmon in Wâdy Suweinit should have pitched on this particular cave (Mughâret el Jai), seeing that there are many other caves along both sides of the valley," curiously adding, "though unfortunately they are for the most part inaccessible."

Surely the wish has never crossed his mind that we had pitched upon an *inaccessible* cave. The reasons, however, for fixing on Mughâret el Jai as the place of refuge for the Benjamites, are as follows :—

1. It is obviously the cavern mentioned to Mr. Finn, in 1852, as capable of containing several hundred men.

2. It is *accessible*, and from it it is easy to reach the concealed spring of Ain Suweinit.

3. It is the best known (1879, 112) and apparently the largest cave in the ravine.

4. It is well screened from view, and therefore a desirable hiding place.

It has been used time out of mind for refuge by the neighbouring villagers, when prosecuted by the government; and the hiding place habitually used in modern times may well have been that resorted to in the days of Phinehas and even of Saul.

6. There must be some reason for the repeated mention of *six* in connection with *hundreds* in reference to Mughâret el Jai, and its occupation by the six hundred Benjamite survivors would be a likely and reasonable explanation.

It is not, however, necessary for all the fugitives ever to have been in

the cave at one time, still less for four months. After sunset they could doubtless come out like rabbits to get corn and water. The plain truth seems to be that the cave formed the *headquarters* of the Benjamite survivors, so that this stalk proves to be *altogether chaff*.

Mr. Rawnsley (1879, 126), among the names recovered in his expedition, gives the following, *Wâdy er Rumaman*, and *Wâdy er Rumman*, both obviously connected with Rimmon. Whether he was imposed upon in these names being given him, or Lieutenant Conder in their not being given, is a point on which no evidence is before us.

The present existence of the name Rimmon is, however, of no real importance, as there certainly was a Rimmon somewhere hereabouts in the time of Saul.

I think all objections recently and formerly made against this most interesting *cliff* and *cave* have now been fairly met and demolished, as I doubt not every future one will also be, for "*magna est veritas et prævalebit*."

The sound results may be stated thus :—

The Rock Rimmon was *not* at Rimmôn because—

1. It is not a *sela*.
2. It is not a suitable place of refuge for men fighting for their lives.
3. It is probably not in the tribe of Benjamin.
4. It was seven miles distant from the field of battle, and another hiding place which was far nearer, was also far better.

That the refuge of the six hundred Benjamites was the great cavern called Mughâret el Jai, among the cliffs of the passage of Michmash, seems to me to be conclusively proved by the following chain of circumstantial evidence :—

1. The Benjamites were pursued "unto over against Gibeah toward the sun rising." This certainly brings them *towards* Jeb'a.

2. "They fled toward the wilderness unto the rock (*sela*) Rimmon." This must first have brought them *past* Jeba, and a mile and a half or two miles more in the same direction—"toward the wilderness," would bring them to Wâdy Suweinît, where we find both *cliffs* and the name "*Rimmon* in the precipice" existing in the time of Saul. As these are the *first cliffs* they would come to, and the name Rimmon was once connected with them, it seems to me as clearly proved as any topographical point can be, that here was the Rock Rimmon.

3. Further, here is a great cavern—offering a most suitable hiding place, with a secret spring not far distant.

4. The Israelites often hid themselves in caves. This one has long been the recognised hiding place of the neighbourhood, and the Christians are said to have used it on one great occasion.

The Benjamites, unless different from other human beings, must be allowed to have hidden themselves in some cave or other, and it is most reasonable to suppose that they would do so in this.

6. Tradition says that this cave will hold six hundred men, just the

number of the Benjamite refugees, and that they did hide in it is the only reasonable explanation as to how six hundred is the number now named.

7. Modern measurement confirms the tradition that six hundred men could find shelter in this cave if pushed to extremities.

The Israelites, however, had probably gained too bitter an experience of the desperate valour of the slinging tribe, to dare to attack the wolf of Benjamin, when driven to bay in his *dernier ressort*. And most assuredly they would have caught a Tartar (as will probably every one who ventures to assail their famous stronghold*) if they had attempted to harass the fugitives in Wâdy Suweint, and so they discreetly let alone that little Benjamin who was destined afterwards to be their ruler. But still, why not make some excavations in the cave?

W. F. BIRCH.

THE VALLEY OF HINNOM AND ZION.

MORE than 200 books have been written on Palestine, about 50 treat specially of its geography; thousands of intelligent travellers have visited the Holy City, and yet to this hour the Christian world is not agreed as to where Zion stood.

Four faults have led most writers astray:—

- (1.) They have made wrong assumptions, in a matter in which hardly anything can safely be assumed.
- (2.) They have grounded their arguments on statements of Josephus, who is most unreliable, and at times flatly contradicts the Bible.
- (3.) They have not always verified their references.
- (4.) They have interpreted their quotations in a way sometimes at variance with the context.

Hence there are *four* opinions as to what hill is described as *Mount Zion*, and *five different views* about the real position of Zion itself, viz. :—

- (1.) The *high*; north of the Temple; advocated by Messrs. Fergusson, Thrupp, and Lewin.
- (2.) The *low*; south of the Temple, on Ophel so called, held by the writer.
- (3.) The *broad*, which places Zion simultaneously on two or more of the following 1, 2, 4, 5, originated by Josephus and adopted by Lewin and Lieutenant Conder.
- (4.) The *mediæval*; the south-western hill or upper city of Josephus, approved of by almost all writers from Jerome to the present

* The same may also be said of the stronghold of Zion, or the City of David which was situated on Ophel, so called, south of the Temple.

date, and defended by the discrimination of Robinson, the erudition of Williams, as well as by Professor Porter and Lieutenant Conder.

- (5.) That of the *Woolwich Brethren*, the district within the second wall west of the Temple and north of the upper city, gallantly held by Colonel Warren and Lieutenant Conder.

To a mind that delights in "showing of hard sentences and dissolving of doubts," the Jerusalem problem is irresistibly fascinating, and as four years have failed to show me any flaw or fallacy in the view which alone (so far as I can see) is reconcilable with and demanded by the Bible, I cheerfully descend from Scopus to join in the *bellum topographicum*, against the modern Simons, Johns, and Eleazars who between them have rent Jerusalem in pieces.

The "Nikon" argument that must make the first breach in the great wall of error, shall be "the true position of the Valley of Hinnom," the accidental discovery of which put an end to my gropings in the dark, led me out of the Josephean fog into bright daylight, and showed me the great outlines of Jerusalem in wonderful distinctness.

Modern discoveries allow us (without falling into *fault* 1) to assert that ancient Jerusalem stood somewhere on the often printed plan (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1879). The great question then is which was the valley of Hinnom?

A. Jerome says that Tophet, in the valley of the son of Hinnom, was irrigated by the waters of Siloam (Ain Silwân).

B. Colonel Warren identifies the brook (*Nachal*) Kedron, on the eastern side of Jerusalem, with the valley (*Ge*) of Hinnom.

C. Popular opinion takes the valley on the south-west and south of Jerusalem to be the valley of Hinnom.

While I was vainly seeking to reconcile these divergent if not opposite views, the thought occurred to me, "might not the Tyropœon, the valley passing through Jerusalem, be the Valley of Hinnom?" The novelty of the idea was charming. Immediately I set about trying how this identification would suit the various passages of the Bible in which the valley of Hinnom is mentioned.

Everything fitted in beautifully, but when I came to Jer. xxxi, 39, 40, which describes the environs of Jerusalem, I was struck with the fact not only that the valley of (*Ge*) Hinnom was not specifically mentioned, but also that "the whole *valley* of the dead bodies and of the ashes," generally taken to be south-west and south of the valley above named, was not described by the Hebrew word *Ge* but by quite a different word, *Emek*. Soon I perceived that the distinct Hebrew words, *Nachal*, *Ge*, and *Emek* were *never* interchanged, and delighted with this success I followed up the clue until it led me right into Zion.

But before passing on, the three views A, B, C, need a word. A is not disturbed by the Tyropœon being the valley of Hinnom, perhaps it even requires this line.

B cannot stand for a moment against the rigid use of Hebrew words.

It only rests on Arabic accounts* ("Jerus. Rec.," p. 307) and the misleading "East gate" (Jer. xix, 2), and to speak from hearsay, possibly on the Talmud.

C. The Bible Dictionary (under "Tophet") observes, "Until comparatively modern times that southern valley is never so named. Hinnom, by old writers, Western and Eastern, is always placed *east* of the city, and corresponds to what we call 'the mouth of the Tyropœon,' along the southern bed and bank of the Kedron." I have not, however, verified the references given for this statement.

Lieutenant Conder ("Handbook," p. 330) adopts C, and puts forward two points as *conclusive arguments* in its favour. (1) "Not only does the line of the border of Judah, which followed this valley, and ran south of Jerusalem (Josh. xv, 8), presuppose such a position; but (2) the situation of Tophet in the valley of Hinnom points to the same conclusion. Tophet was the scene of the worship of Moloch, and the high place of that idol is mentioned (2 Kings, xxiii, 13) as on the south of the Har-ham-Mashekhith, which is probably the same as Har-ham-Meshekha, or Mount of Anointing, by which name the Rabbis denominate the Mount of Olives."

This is a good illustration of how a well-read writer may unconsciously go astray.

Point (1) would be conclusive *if* it could be proved that "the Jebusite" or "stronghold of Zion" was situate on the hill of the Upper City. But here Lieutenant Conder falls into *fault 2*, as all the proof he has to allege (p. 336) is the *incorrect* statement of Josephus that "the upper hill was by David called the citadel." If this professes to be a paraphrase of the Bible it is a *misrepresentation*; if not, whence did Josephus get his knowledge of things that happened a thousand years before his time? (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 169.)

Point (2) is an instance of *fault 4*. The context (2 Kings, xxiii, 10, 13) shows that Tophet in *the valley of Hinnom* had nothing to do with "the high places that were before Jerusalem which were on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption, etc.," for verse 10 states that Josiah defiled Tophet, and verse 13 that he defiled those high places. The chapter gives an orderly account of Josiah's doings, and verse 13 is not an idle repetition of verse 10, but perfectly distinct from it.

The "Handbook," p. 330, has a remark about "*the valley (emek) of Dead Bodies and of the ashes*," viz., "no indication of the position of this place is given, and it has no topographical importance." (*Vide* note on Jerem. xxxi, 38-40.)

There was formerly *not much difficulty* about its position, as it was taken to be the west and south valley, *until* it was pointed out that an *emek* could not be a *ge*, and its topographical importance instead of being *nil*, seems

* In *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 102, Mr. Beswick discusses Colonel Warren's view, and rejects it. I cannot altogether agree with his arguments, and should have been glad if he had endeavoured to show that the Tyropœon so called (1878, p. 180) was not the valley of Hinnom. He seems, however, to pass over the point without notice.

to me *greater* than that of any other topographical passage in the Bible, because it proves that the west and south valley was not the valley of Hinnom. Yet Mr. Fergusson's most praiseworthy identification of the *eastern hill* at Jerusalem with *Mount Zion* was years ago, is briefly disposed of by the reply that it did "not deserve the trouble of a serious refutation." Not thus will difficult questions be solved, though books may be multiplied to any extent.

The position that the central valley was the valley of Hinnom now seems to me to be fully proved and impregnable (*Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 180); but if any one thinks he can upset "Nikon" let him try.

As I believe that Colonel Warren, in the "Memoirs," and Lieutenant Conder in the "Encyclopædia," will shortly fully put forward their latest views on the topography of Jerusalem, I propose to defer the assault on the pseudo-Zions until the next number.

W. F. B.

NOTE ON JEREMIAH xxxi, 38-40.

This passage is the *key* to Jerusalem. It will hardly be disputed that the words "from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner," describe generally the breadth of the city from east to west, on its northern or weakest side.

Verses 39 and 40 seem to describe a circuit about the city going round from north to west, then to south and ending at the east. I think it safe to identify the hill (*gibeah*) of Gareb, outside the Jerusalem of the Kings, with the hill east of the Damascus gate; *Goath* seems to me to have been a place more to the west, and identical with the site of the *Assyrian camp* of Josephus; the name probably has reference to the destruction of the 185,000 men.

In verse 40 we come to the west and south valley (that wrongly called in our day the valley of Hinnom), and this is described as "the whole valley (*emek*) of the dead bodies and of the ashes." This brings us to "all the fields," *i.e.*, the level ground in the eastern valley (described as "all the fields"), which reach to near the Virgin's Spring, where the valley becomes narrow, or in other words "unto the brook (*nachal*) of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse gate towards the east," *i.e.*, to near some part of the Haram area.

The fact that we have the *fields*, the *brook*, the *horse gate* in proper order, seems to make it certain that the description is an orderly one throughout; while the west and south valley is the only one which can fill up the space (between "Goath" and "the fields") described as "the valley (*emek*)," etc. All the places thus named seemed to have been *defiled*: Gareb has been connected with *leprosy*; *Goath* with death; while the *dead bodies* would defile the *emek*. Even the fields and brook Kidron were defiled (2 Kings xxiii, 4, 6). The high places on the Mount of Olives had also been defiled (2 Kings xxiii, 13), but as no mention is here made of this part becoming holy, though in close proximity to Jerusalem, it is

inadmissible to apply the expression "the valley (*emek*) of the dead bodies," etc., to any part of the country beyond the west and south valley, and not adjoining Jerusalem.

Thus this valley being the only valley available must be that intended by the prophet, and as it is called (*emek*) it could not possibly be the valley (*ge*) of Hinnom.

The use therefore made above of this passage is fully justified.

W. F. BIRCH.

VARIETIES.

It may be well to correct a few errors and misapprehensions.

Emmarus.—The anonymous paper on this place is incorrectly credited to me by Lieutenant Conder.

The Siloam Inscription.—In *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, page 141, the Pool of the Virgin (*Birket Sitti Maryam*) near St. Stephen's Gate is confused with the Virgin's Well, half a mile to the south. It is from the latter that the canal is cut to the Pool of Siloam.

The Table land Rock.—On page 327, this is given by the Rev. James Niel as one of the titles of Jerusalem. The allusion is obviously to Jer. xxi, 13, 14, "Behold I am against thee, O inhabitant of the valley, and rock of the plain, saith the Lord; which say, Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitations?"

There could hardly be a more beautiful illustration of the use of topographical research than this passage affords. Here the Hebrew word for valley is *emek*, and that for plain *mishor*; but the inhabitants of Jerusalem did not dwell in an *emek*; and the *mishor* is an expression only used of the upland downs east of the Jordan, so that this verse cannot be applied to Jerusalem, unless the utmost violence be done to Biblical usage.

The *topographical key*, however, turns this dead-lock with perfect ease. The inhabitants of Rabbath-Ammon boasted (Jer. xlix, 4) of their well watered valley (*emek*), while their citadel overlooked the surrounding country or *mishor*. Our *key* fits exactly, and makes it certain that the prophet refers to Rabbah. Besides, "Who shall come down to us?" is the very question asked in Jer. xlix, 4, "Who shall come unto me?" and the king of Babylon was advancing against both Rabbah and Jerusalem (Ezek. xxi, 20, 21), though he took the latter first. See *Quarterly Statement*, 1878, page 189.

Gibeah.—It seems to me that Kh. 'Adaseh, nearly two miles east of Gibeon, represents the long-lost site of *Gibeah* (Judg. xx), of *Gibeah of Saul*, and of the hill of *Ammah*, *lit.* the *Gibeah* or hill of the chief city. The arguments for this identification seem to me conclusive, but it will be

requisite to search for ancient tombs and a water supply close at hand, as such do not seem to be marked on the Survey Map.

Nob.—After placing Gibeah of Saul at Kh. 'Adaseh, I can no longer recognise Almon as representing Nob, which identification (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, page 51) I have long regarded with increasing suspicion, and now abandon, for the following reasons :—

(1.) I find Josephus to be utterly untrustworthy on Old Testament topography.

(2.) A Levitical city in Benjamin would probably be described as a city of the children of Aaron the priest or of the sons of Aaron, and not simply as a *city of the priests*.

(3.) While many places mentioned in the Bible had different names, e.g., Jerusalem, Hebron, Debir, Bethel, etc., I cannot find a single clear instance in which some note of explanation is not added.

(4.) It is not certain that Ahimelech enquired of God for David (*see* "Speaker's Com."); so that there is no reason for thinking that David went out of his way to Nob, which he would have done if Nob had been at Almon (Almît).

(5.) If Is. x, 28, etc., describes (as I believe it does) the actual march of the Assyrian, then he ought to have advanced from Geba towards Jerusalem by the ordinary route near Tuleil el Fûl and not past Almît. For the same reason Aiath cannot apparently be identical with Ai, unless the latter be placed at Kh. Haiy. Lieutenant Conder, 1881, page 254, writes in favour of Ai having been at Kh. Haiyan, but unfortunately he does not offer any suggestion as to the position of the valley (*emek*) in Josh. viii, 13, nor as to the crossing and recrossing of the deep valley (*gai*) on the north; while "before the plain" (viii, 14) means, as Mr. Guest has pointed out, "in sight of the Jordan valley."

To find a position suiting both the advance of Sennacherib and the flight of David from near Kh. 'Adaseh, I am driven to look for traces of an old town in the neighbourhood of Shafat. The spot marked Kh. el Merâghib on the Survey Map seems to me the most likely, and near it Murray's "Handbook" (page 190) states there are some remarkable tombs, with the remains of a considerable town, called el-Musahny.

Zeboim.—The connection I endeavoured to establish (1879, page 102) between this name and Tell esh Sha'ib seems now to me to be but fanciful.

The Dung Gate.—Mr. Beswick (1880, 109) objects to this name being connected with "the place called Bethso" (Jos. "Wars," v. 4, 2), and suggests that the meaning of the latter word is the "Interdicted Place," and not the "dung place," as proposed by Dr. Robinson. A short visit, however, to the heaps of rubbish outside the Jaffa Gate would probably show that sanitary considerations are unsafe guides in questions of oriental topography. The further fact that the royal towers, etc., of *Herod*, at the north-west corner of Zion (so called), were separated from the dung gate of *Nehemiah* at the south-west corner by an interval of something like 1,000 cubits, and 400 years ought not, as a matter of scent, to make the identification *absurd*.

Kirjath-jearim.—There are some serious objections to the identification of this place with Khûrbet 'Erma.

1. According to Josh. xv, 10, "the border compassed from Baalah (*i.e.*, Kirjath-jearim) *westward* unto Mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon." The line, however, as drawn by Lieutenant Conder (1881, page 264) runs northward instead of *westward* from 'Erma to Kesla. I can find no authority for his rendering the Hebrew יֵרֵךְ (with verbs of motion) as equal to "looking west instead of *westward*."

2. Again, in Josh. xviii, 15, from the end of Kirjath-jearim the border (of Benjamin) "went out *on the west* (*i.e.*, *westward*), and went out to the well of the waters of Neptuah." The line from 'Erma is, however, by Lieutenant Conder drawn *entirely* eastward (and *not westward at all*), towards 'Ain Atân near Solomon's pools. These seem to me to be two fatal objections to Kh. 'Erma representing Kirjath-jearim.

3. Josephus, whose testimony is worth little, says that Kirjath-jearim was near Gibeon, which is an equivoise to his statement that it was near Beth-shemesh. On the principle "*medio tutissimus ibis*," I should say that no site seems to me more suitable than Soba, about half way between the two, especially as the border can be drawn *westward* along Wâdy Esh Shemmarîn and then *eastward* up Wâdy es Sikkeh.

4. Kirjath-jearim, along with Chephirah and Beeroth, was a city dependent on Gibeon. Kh. 'Erma seems too far distant.

5. Lieutenant Conder does not seem to speak of any ancient Jewish tombs at 'Erma.

6. In Josh. xviii, 28, we read "Gibeath, *and* Kirjath; fourteen cities with their villages." A comparison of the Hebrew and LXX versions would rather lead one to suppose that the original reading was "Gibeah of (or which belongs to) Kirjath-jearim."

7. In this case Gibeath (or rather Gibeah) was a town of Benjamin at "the end of Kirjath-jearim," and is probably represented by Kh. el Jubeiah near Soba, while Kirjath was not a town of Benjamin at all, but only an imperfect reading for Kirjath-jearim.

8. If Zorah and Eshtaol are correctly identified with Sura'h and Eshû'a, it is difficult to see how the "Mahaneh Dan, in Judah behind Kirjath-jearim" (Judg. xviii, 12) can be identical with "the Mahaneh-Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol" (xiii, 25) as the Danites from these two towns went *up* and pitched in Kirjath-jearim, in Judah (xviii, 12).

Probably the name of the camp of Dan was given to two places: one the spot where they assembled and to which they carried out their stuff; the other at the end of their first day's journey, just west of Kirjath-jearim.

Rabbah (Josh. xv, 60) was apparently a city in the mountains of Judah, and cannot therefore be the present *Rabba* in the Shephelah. Kh. Rab'a, about a mile from 'Erma, seems a likely position and similar in name.

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THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

Queen's College, Oxford,

November 14th, 1881.

THE printer has, after all, contrived to make mistakes in my transliteration of the Siloam inscription into square Hebrew characters. I should therefore be obliged by the following corrections of lines 5 and 6 being made : in line 5, the reading should be **כִּן . הַמְצֵא** ; and in line 6 **הַצֵּר** instead of **בַּצֵּר**.

I am inclined to return to my old views as to the antiquity of the inscription. The historical evidence, at all events, seems very clear. Apart from the argument urged by M. Derenbourg, who points out that, as Shiloah signifies "a conduit," the tunnel with the inscription in it must have existed before the time when Isaiah viii, 6, was written, and have given its name to the locality, the fact that the reservoir is called simply "the pool" in the inscription is one that I cannot easily get over. If other similar reservoirs existed at the time in Jerusalem, as we know they did in the age of Isaiah, it is difficult to understand how it could be called merely "the pool" and not "the pool of Siloah" or "the king's pool" as in Neh. iii, 15, and ii, 14. At all events, as Dr. Neubauer first pointed out, the words in Is. viii, 6, have no sense, unless they refer to the passage of waters through the tunnel which supplied the pool of Siloam. It must be remembered that the Virgin's spring is the only natural one in or near Jerusalem, and that consequently the reservoir of Siloam must have been filled either with rain-water or by means of the cutting in the rock which led from the Virgin's Pool.

Now that we know the exact forms of the characters used in the inscription, there is only one—the *aleph*—which stands in the way of assigning it to a very early date. Two characters, the *waw* and the *zayin*, have more archaic forms than have been found elsewhere, and to these I should also be disposed to add the *tsadé*. The *kheth* and *'ayin* are more archaic than those of the Moabite Stone, though this would prove no more than that the alphabet of Moab had in certain respects departed further from the primitive type than the more conservative alphabet of Judah. As for the *mem*, de Vogüé's canon on the subject seems to me untenable. According to this, the "wavy *mem*" would be older than the barred *mem* which we find in our inscription. But it is obvious that the difference of form in this case depends on a difference of writing materials. The wavy *mem* would be in use where papyrus or parchment was mostly employed, while the barred *mem* would be the natural form where stone and clay were largely used for writing purposes, as we know they were at Jerusalem (Is. viii, 1 ; "slab," not "roll," as in A.V. ; Jer. xxxii, 11, 12). The Siloam letters can be compared only with those of the early Hebrew seals, not with those of the Aramaic dockets on the contract tablets of Nineveh or those of the inscriptions on the Assyrian lion-weights. The

latter are written in Aramaic not in Hebrew, and in an Aramaic alphabet, not a Jewish one. Nineveh, moreover, is geographically too far from Jerusalem to allow of a comparison being safely made, while the proper names occurring in the tablets seem to show that the contracting parties belonged to more than one nationality, and the characters, though of the same age, are not always of the same form. A good deal of misconception seems to exist on the subject of these Assyro-Aramaic inscriptions, some of which have been supposed to be as early as the 9th century B.C. This, however, is not the case, the oldest being not earlier than the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, and all belong to the century between 740 and 640 B.C.

One of the chief lessons taught us by the discovery of the Siloam inscription is that similar inscriptions still exist in Palestine if they are looked for in the right place. This is underground. It is useless to expect to find remains of the præ-exilic period except by the help of systematic excavation. Not only in Jerusalem itself, but also in the south of Judah, ancient Jewish monuments still lie buried, waiting for the spade to uncover them. I was greatly struck, when riding from Beit-Jibrin to Gaza, by the number of ancient *tels* or mounds which I passed, each marking the site of an old city. To say nothing of Um Lakis, supposed to represent the site of Lachish, though the natives insisted upon calling it Um Latis to me, we have the great mound of Ajlân or Eglon, which must go back to the days of the Jewish monarchy, and is only exceeded in size by that of Zêta, a still unidentified site. But the whole plain abounds with *tels* of considerable size, and Gaza itself would be a fine field for digging.

A. H. SAYCE.

KIRJATH JEARIM.

THE interesting account of Lieutenant Conder's visit to Khûrbet 'Erma, induces me to ask consideration for the further suggestion regarding that spot, that there stood "the nameless city" of 1 Sam. ix. The scene of Saul's anointing is nameless in the Scripture narrative, which gives no authority for the statement of Josephus that it was Ramah. Possibly he inferred it from the mention of "the seer's house" (ver. 18). Little stress can be put on the wording of Saul's question as a stranger to a stranger in the city gate. It is significant that throughout the chapter Samuel is never once spoken of as "dwelling" in that city. "He is in the city" (ver. 6). "He came to-day to the city, for the people have a great sacrifice on the high place" (ver. 11). The people are not accustomed to eat till he comes, for he blesses the sacrifice." . . . "Now therefore get you up for about this time ye shall find him" (13). Such are the terms employed, which not only do not say that he dwelt in the city, but suggest the opposite, even that he was there for the occasion of the sacrificial feast.

Although no name is given, the position of the city is pretty fully indicated ; Saul and his servant had gone "through all the land of Benjamin" when they came to it ; and they returned from it by Rachel's sepulchre. The narrative requires us to find a city set on the upper slope of a hill so that it had a higher and lower part ; and to find a high place just outside its gate which was honoured as a "Bamah" and place of gathering to offer sacrifice. These requirements are all met in Khûrbet 'Erma, if we accept it as the site of Kirjath Jearim. Saul and his servant, after going through all the land of Benjamin, would find themselves in its south quarter at Kirjath Jearim (Joshua xviii, 15) ; outside of Kirjath Jearim on the "gibeah" or hill in the house of Abinadab stood the Ark for twenty years. It is close to, and up from Beth-Shemesh, whence the Ark was brought hither. An easy morning walk would bring Samuel and Saul to the spot near which they must have been when the prophet anointed the king, not far from Rachel's sepulchre (1 Sam. x, 1, 2), on his return to Gibeah of Saul.

The course of Saul and his servant is easily traced through Benjamin and over by Soba (Zuph) to the border of the Philistines, beyond which it was vain to follow strayed asses, even if prudent. A reason for the silence of Scripture as to the name of the city may be found possibly in its being assumed that the place of festival and gathering for sacrifice before the Lord would be recognised as the resting place of the Ark of the Covenant. Josephus says, "Now while the city of Kirjath Jearim had the Ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about His worship." ("Ant." vi, 2, 1.) This statement seems based on 1 Sam. vii, 2. It certainly is hardly credible that Samuel would not frequent the place where stood the Ark of the Covenant, and have a house for his use on those occasions when there was, as on this occasion, "*a sacrifice of the people*" there.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

